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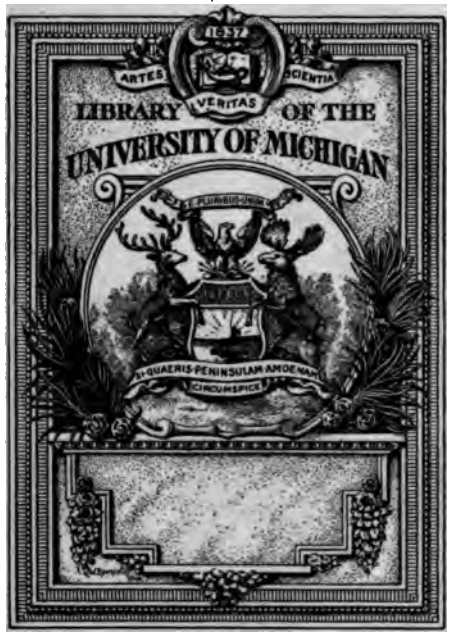
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THE

WORKS OF JONATHAN SWIFT

21 v. 22

THE WORKS OF

Jonathan Swift

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN

CONTAINING

ADDITIONAL LETTERS, TRACTS, AND POEMS

NOT HITHERTO PUBLISHED

WITH NOTES AND A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR

BY

SIR WALTER SCOTT

Second Edition

IN NINETEEN VOLUMES

VOL. IV.

LONDON
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1883

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A

SHORT CHARACTER

OF

HIS EXCELLENCY

THOMAS EARL OF WHARTON,

LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND,

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME SMALLER FACTS DURING HIS GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL NOT BE PUT INTO THE ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT.

[*London, Printed for William Coryton, Bookseller, at the Black Swan, on Ludgate Hill*, 1710.—12*mo*, *Price* 4*d*.]

THOMAS LORD WHARTON was created Earl of Wharton in 1706, and appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1708. He shared in the disgrace of Godolphin's ministry in 1710; and when, in 1714, the clouds which overshadowed Whiggish prosperity had passed away, he was appointed lord privy seal, and advanced to the title of Marquis of Wharton and Malmesbury. In 1715 he died. Wharton was a principal promoter of the Revolution; and is said to have been the author of the popular ballad of Lilibulero, with which he boasted to have sung James II. out of his three kingdoms. His eloquence, his sagacity, his courage, above all,

his staunch adherence to Whig principles, were admitted by the leaders of his party as extenuations of his abandoned and open profligacy. "If ever," says Lord Shaftesbury, "I expected any public good where virtue was wholly sunk, 'twas in his character; the most mysterious of any, in my account, for this reason. But I have seen many proofs of this monstrous compound in him, of the very best and the very worst."* And in another letter to the same friend, he thus expresses himself: "Lord Wharton, indeed, is as true as steel; but as little partiality as I have for him, and as ill an opinion of his private life and principles; I fancy his good understanding will make him show himself a better lord-lieutenant than is expected."

Swift entertained a rooted hatred to this nobleman, not only on account of his low-church principles and contempt of the clergy, but in consequence of personal neglect. When Wharton was named Lieutenant of Ireland, Swift, then in London, and in favour with many of the administration, was commissioned by the clergy of Ireland, to solicit his interest for remission of the twentieth-parts and first-fruits due from that kingdom. It is even said, that Swift expected from this nobleman an appointment as his chaplain. Lord Wharton received both the petition and the intercession with great coldness; nor could Lord Somers, at a second interview, bring them to a better understanding; and finally, using the pretence of some dispute with his chaplain as an affront to himself, the lord-lieutenant reported it as such to the court, whereupon the convocation was prorogued, and all thoughts of the remission put an end to for the time. This failure, which, in some degree, lessened Swift's personal consequence, and at all events offended his zeal for his order, was not to be forgiven. Being, moreover, as our author sarcastically expresses, "a Presbyterian in politics, and an atheist in religion," Lord Wharton showed a great inclination to remove the sacramental test in Ireland, so far as dissenters were concerned. This was another subject of offence to Swift, who published a formal defence of the test in a "Letter to a Member of Parliament." Thus heartily irritated, our author shunned all intercourse with Lord Wharton during his lieutenancy, although, when the close of his power was approaching, that wily statesman affected to load him with caresses, in order to render him suspicious to his clerical friends, and the Tories in general.

Such is our author's statement of his quarrel with Lord Wharton. But the Whigs ascribed his enmity to disappointed ambition; and affirmed as the cause, that when Somers introduced Swift to Wharton as a fit person to be his chaplain, the

* Letter to Lord Molesworth in 1709.

latter, alluding to Swift's supposed licentious opinions on religion, replied, "We must not encourage these fellows; we have not character enough ourselves:" a sarcasm which Swift never forgot, or forgave.

So soon as Swift had drawn his pen in defence of the new ministers, he failed not to avenge himself for the supercilious contempt and insidious caresses of Lord Wharton. The late Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland was depicted in the Examiner, No. XIV., under the character of Verres, the infamous Proconsul of Sicily. But the vengeance of Swift was not satisfied even with that diatribe; for about the same time he was preparing for press the character which follows. He announces the publication to Stella in the following manner:

Journal, dated Nov. 25, 1710. "Here is a damned libellous pamphlet come out against Lord Wharton, giving the character first, and then telling some of his actions; the character is very well, but the facts indifferent. It has been sent by dozens to several gentlemen's lodgings, and I had one or two of them; but nobody knows the author or printer." Dec. 23, he adds, "The character is here reckoned admirable; but most of the facts are trifles. It was first printed privately here; and then some bold cur ventured to do it publicly, and sold two thousand in two days; who the author is must remain uncertain. Do you pretend to know, impudence! how durst you think so?"

It is difficult to ascertain what Swift meant by saying, that the facts are indifferent, or trifles, unless it was, that, infamous as they make my Lord Wharton, they hardly amounted to the grounds of an impeachment.

Archbishop King, whether in pure simplicity, or, as is more likely, suspecting the true author, and willing to put an affront on him, which he could hardly resent, expresses himself in a letter to Swift very severely on the subject of this satire: "We have published here a character of the Earl of Wharton, late Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. I have so much charity and justice as to condemn all such proceedings. If a governor behave himself ill, let him be complained of and punished; but to wound a man thus in the dark." * * * This censure certainly tended to alienate Swift from the learned primate.

A SHORT CHARACTER, &c.

London, Aug. 30, 1710.

THE kingdom of Ireland being governed by deputation from hence, its annals, since the English establishment, are usually digested under the heads of several governors: but the affairs and events of that island, for some years past, have been either so insignificant, or so annexed to those of England, that they have not furnished matter of any great importance to history. The share of honour, which gentlemen from thence have had by their conduct and employments in the army, turns all to the article of this kingdom; the rest, which relates to politics, or the art of government, is inconsiderable to the last degree, however it may be represented at court by those who preside there, and would value themselves upon every step they make towards finishing the slavery of that people, as if it were gaining a mighty point to the advantage of England.

Generally speaking, the times which afford most plentiful matter for story, are those wherein a man would least choose to live; such as, the various events and revolutions of war, the intrigues of a ruined faction, or the violence of a prevailing one:

and, lastly, the arbitrary unlawful acts of oppressing governors. In the war, Ireland has no share but in subordination to us; the same may be said of their factions, which at present are but imperfect transcripts of ours; but the third subject for history, which is arbitrary power and oppression, as it is that by which the people of Ireland have, for some time, been distinguished from all her majesty's subjects, so, being now at its greatest height under his Excellency Thomas Earl of Wharton, a short account of his government may be of some use or entertainment to the present age, though I hope it will be incredible to the next.

And because the relation I am going to make may be judged rather a history of his excellency than of his government, I must here declare, that I have not the least view to his person in any part of it. I have had the honour of much conversation with his lordship, and am thoroughly convinced how indifferent he is to applause, and how insensible of reproach; which is not an humour put on to serve a turn, or keep a countenance, nor arising from the consciousness of innocence, or any grandeur of mind, but the mere unaffected bent of his nature. He is without the sense of shame, or glory, as some men are without the sense of smelling; and, therefore, a good name to him is no more than a precious ointment would be to these. Whoever, for the sake of others, were to describe the nature of a serpent, a wolf, a crocodile, or a fox, must be understood to do it without any personal love or hatred for the animals themselves.

In the same manner, his excellency is one whom I neither personally love nor hate. I see him at court, at his own house, and sometimes at mine, for I have the honour of his visits; and when these papers are public, it is odds but he will tell me,

as he once did upon a like occasion, "that he is damnably mauled;" and then, with the easiest transition in the world, ask about the weather, or time of the day; so that I enter on the work with more cheerfulness, because I am sure neither to make him angry, nor any way hurt his reputation; a pitch of happiness and security to which his excellency has arrived, and which no philosopher before him could reach.

I intend to execute this performance, by first giving a character of his excellency, and then relating some facts during his government in Ireland, which will serve to confirm it.

I know very well, that men's characters are best learned from their actions; but these being confined to his administration in that kingdom, his character may, perhaps, take in something more, which the narrowness of the time, or the scene, has not given him opportunity to exert.

Thomas Earl of Wharton, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, by the force of a wonderful constitution, has some years passed his grand climacteric, without any visible effects of old age, either on his body or his mind, and in spite of a continual prostitution to those vices which usually wear out both. His behaviour is in all the forms of a young man at five-and-twenty. Whether he walks, or whistles, or swears, or talks bawdy, or calls names, he acquits himself in each, beyond a templar of three years' standing. With the same grace, and in the same style, he will rattle his coachman in the midst of the street, where he is governor of the kingdom; and all this is without consequence, because it is in his character, and what everybody expects. He seems to be but an ill dissembler, and an ill liar, although they are the two talents he most practises, and most values himself upon. The ends he has

gained by lying appear to be more owing to the frequency than the art of them: his lies being sometimes detected in an hour, often in a day, and always in a week. He tells them freely in mixed companies, although he knows half of those that hear him to be his enemies, and is sure they will discover them the moment they leave him. He swears solemnly he loves, and will serve you; and your back is no sooner turned, but he tells those about him, you are a dog and a rascal. He goes constantly to prayers in the forms of his place, and will talk bawdy and blasphemy at the chapel door. He is a Presbyterian in politics, and an atheist in religion; but he chooses at present to whore with a Papist. In his commerce with mankind, his general rule is, to endeavour to impose on their understandings, for which he has but one receipt, a composition of lies and oaths: and this he applies indifferently to a freeholder of forty shillings, and a privy-counsellor; by which the easy and the honest are often either deceived or amused, and either way he gains his point. He will openly take away your employment to-day, because you are not of his party; to-morrow he will meet or send for you, as if nothing at all had passed, lay his hands with much friendliness on your shoulders, and, with the greatest ease and familiarity, tell you, that the faction are driving at something in the House; that you must be sure to attend, and to speak to all your friends to be there, although he knows, at the same time, that you and your friends are against him in the very point he mentions: and however absurd, ridiculous, and gross, this may appear, he has often found it successful; some men having such an awkward bashfulness, they know not how to refuse on a sudden; and every man having something to fear, which often hinders them from driving things to extremes

with persons of power, whatever provocations they may have received. He has sunk his fortune by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom,* and has raised it by going far in the ruin of another.† With a good natural understanding, a great fluency in speaking, and no ill taste of wit, he is generally the worst companion in the world; his thoughts being wholly taken up between vice and politics, so that bawdy, prophaneness, and business, fill up his whole conversation. To gratify himself in the two first, he makes use of suitable favourites, whose talents reach no higher than to entertain him with all the lewdness that passes in town. As for business, he is said to be very dexterous at that part of it which turns upon intrigue; and he seems to have transferred those talents of his youth for intriguing with women into public affairs. For, as some vain young fellows, to make a gallantry appear of consequence, will choose to venture their necks by climbing up a wall or window at midnight to a common wench, where they might as freely have gone in at the door, and at noonday; so his excellency, either to keep himself in practice, or advance the fame of his politics, affects the most obscure, troublesome, and winding paths, even in the most common affairs, those which would be brought about as well in the ordinary forms, or would follow of course, whether he intervened or no.

He bears the gallantries of his lady with the indifference of a Stoic; and thinks them well recompensed by a return of children to support his family, without the fatigues of being a father.

He has three predominant passions, which you will seldom find united in the same man, as arising from different dispositions of mind, and naturally

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* England. † Ireland.

thwarting each other: these are, love of power, love of money, and love of pleasure; they ride him sometimes by turns, sometimes all together. Since he went into Ireland, he seems most disposed to the second, and has met with great success; having gained by his government, of under two years, five-and-forty thousand pounds by the most favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prudential.

He was never yet known to refuse or keep a promise, as I remember he told a lady, but with an exception to the promise he then made, (which was to get her a pension,) yet he broke even that, and, I confess, deceived us both. But here I desire to distinguish between a promise and a bargain; for he will be sure to keep the latter, when he has the fairest offer.

Thus much for his excellency's character; I shall now proceed to his actions, only during the time he was governor of Ireland, which were transmitted to me by an eminent person in business there, who had all opportunities of being well informed, and whose employment did not lie at his excellency's mercy.

This intelligence being made up of several facts independent of each other, I shall hardly be able to relate them in due order of time, my correspondent omitting that circumstance, and transmitting them to me as they came into his memory; so that the gentlemen of that kingdom now in town, I hope, will pardon me any slips I shall make in that or any other kind, while I keep exactly to the truth.

Thomas Proby, Esq., chirurgeon-general of Ireland, a person universally esteemed, and whom I have formerly seen here, had built a country-house half a mile from Dublin, adjoining to the Park. In a corner of the Park, just under his house, he was much annoyed with a dog-kennel, which belonged

to the government; upon which he applied to Thomas Earl of Pembroke, then lord-lieutenant, and to the commissioners of the revenue, for a lease of about five acres of that part of the Park. His petition was referred to the lord-treasurer here, and sent back for a report, which was in his favour, and the bargain so hard, that the lord-treasurer struck off some part of the rent. He had a lease granted him, for which he was to build another kennel, provide ice yearly for the government, and pay a certain rent: the land might be worth about thirty shillings an acre. His excellency, soon after his arrival in Ireland, was told of this lease, and, by his absolute authority, commanded Mr. Proby to surrender up the land; which he was forced to do, after all the expense he had been at, or else must have expected to lose his employment; at the same time, he is under an obligation to pay his rent, and I think he does it to this day. There are several circumstances in this story which I have forgot, having not been sent to me with the rest; but I had it from a gentlemen of that kingdom, who some time ago was here.

Upon his excellency's being declared lord-lieutenant, there came over, to make his court, one Dr. Lloyd, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, noted in that kingdom for being the only clergyman that declared for taking off the sacramental test, as he did openly in their convocation, of which he was a member. The merit of this, and some other principles suitable to it, recommended by Tom Broderick, so far ingratiated him with his excellency, that, being provided of a *proper chaplain* already, he took him, however, into a great degree of favour: the doctor attended his excellency to Ireland; and observing a cast wench in the family to be in much confidence with my lady, he thought, by addressing

there, to have a short open passage to preferment. He met with great success in his amour; and walking one day with his mistress after my lord and lady in the Castle Garden, my lady said to his excellency, "What do you think? we are going to lose poor Foydy," a name of fondness they usually gave her. "Who do you mean?" said my lord. "Why the doctor behind us is resolved to take her from us." "Is he by G—? Why then (G—d d—mn me) he shall have the first bishopric that falls." *

The doctor, thus encouraged, grew a most violent lover, returned with his excellency for England, and soon after the bishopric of York falling void, to show he meant fair, he married his damsel publicly here in London, and his excellency as honourably engaged his credit to get him the bishopric; but the matter was reckoned so infamous that both the archbishops here, especially his Grace of York, interposed with the queen, to hinder so great a scandal to the church; and Dr. Brown, Provost of Dublin College, being then in town, her majesty was pleased to nominate him: so that Dr. Lloyd was forced to sit down with a moderate deanery in the northern parts of that kingdom, and the additional comfort of a sweet lady, who brought this her first husband no other portion than a couple of olive branches for his table, though she herself hardly knows by what hand they were planted.

The queen reserves all the great employments of Ireland to be given by herself, though often by the recommendation of the chief governor, according to his credit at court. The provostship of Dublin College is of this number, which was now vacant,

* It was confidently reported, as a conceit of his excellency, that, talking upon this subject, he once said, with great pleasure, that he hoped to make his whore a bishop.—SWIFT.

upon the promotion of Dr. Brown. Dr. Benjamin Pratt, a fellow of that college, and chaplain to the House of Commons of that kingdom, as well as domestic chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, was at that time here, in attendance upon the duke. He is a gentleman of good birth and fortune in Ireland, and lived here in a very decent figure: he is a person of wit and learning, has travelled and conversed in the best company, and was very much esteemed among us here when I had the pleasure of his acquaintance: but he had the original sin of being a reputed Tory, and a dependant on the Duke of Ormond; however, he had many friends among the bishops, and other nobility, to recommend him to the queen. At the same time there was another fellow of that college, one Dr. Hall, who had the advantage of Pratt in point of seniority. This gentleman had very little introduced himself into the world, but lived retired, though otherwise said to be an excellent person, and very deserving for his learning and sense. He had been recommended from Ireland by several persons; and his excellency, who had never before seen nor thought of him, after having tried to injure the college by recommending persons from this side, at last set up Hall, with all imaginable zeal, against Pratt. I tell this story the more circumstantially, because it is affirmed by his excellency's friends, that he never made more use of his court skill than at this time, to hinder Dr. Pratt from the provostship; not only from the personal hatred he had to the man, on account of his patron and principles, but that he might return to Ireland with some little opinion of his credit at court, which had mightily suffered by many disappointments, especially the last, of his chaplain Dr. Lloyd. It would be incredible to relate the many artifices he used to this end, of which the doctor had

daily intelligence, and would fairly tell his excellency so at his levees; who sometimes could not conceal his surprise, and then would promise, with half a dozen oaths, never to concern himself one way or other; these were broke every day, and every day detected. One morning, after some expostulation between the doctor and his excellency, and a few additional oaths that he would never oppose him more; his excellency went immediately to the Bishop of Ely, and prevailed on him to go to the queen from him, and let her majesty know, that he never could consent, as long as he lived, that Dr. Pratt should be provost; which the bishop barely complied with, and delivered his message, though at the same time he did the doctor all the good offices he could. The next day the doctor was again with his excellency, and gave him thanks for so open a proceeding; the affair was now past dissembling, and his excellency owned he did not oppose him directly, but confessed he did it collaterally. The doctor, a little warmed, said, "No, my lord, you mean *directly* you did not, but *indirectly* you did." The conclusion was, that the queen named the doctor to the place; and as a farther mortification, just upon the day of his excellency's departure for Ireland.

But here I must desire the reader's pardon, if I cannot digest the following facts in so good a manner as I intended; because it is thought expedient, for some reasons, that the world should be informed of his excellency's merits as soon as possible. I will therefore only transcribe the several passages as they were sent me from Dublin, without either correcting the style, or adding any remarks of my own. As they are, they may serve for hints to any person who may hereafter have a mind to write memoirs of his excellency's life.

A relation of several facts, exactly as they were transmitted to me from Ireland about three months ago, and at several times, from a person of quality, and in employment there.

THE Earl of Rochfort's regiment of dragoons was embarked for her majesty's service abroad, on the 27th of August 1709, and left their horses behind them, which were subsisted in order to mount another regiment to fill up their room; as the horses of Lieutenant-General Harvey's regiment had formerly mounted a regiment raised, and still commanded, by the Duke of Ormond; on which occasion the duke had her majesty's order only for as much money as would supply the charge of the horses, till the regiment was raised, which was soon after, and then it was put on the establishment as other regiments. But that which was to supply the Earl of Rochfort's had not a commission granted till the 29th of April 1710, and all the pay from the 27th of August to that time (being above £5700) was taken under pretence of keeping the horses, buying new ones in the room of such as should be wanting or unserviceable, and for providing accoutrements for the men and horses. As for the last use, those are always provided out of the funds for providing clothing, and the Duke of Ormond did so: as for horses wanting, they are very few, and the captains have orders to provide them another way; and the keeping the horses did not amount to £700 by the accounts laid before the committee of parliament: so there was at least £5000 charged to the nation, more than the actual charge could amount to.

Mrs. Lloyd, at first coming over, expected the benefit of the box-money; and accordingly talked

of selling it for about £200; but at last was told she must expect but part of it, and that the grooms of the chamber, and other servants, would deserve a consideration for their attendance. Accordingly his excellency had it brought to him every night, and to make it worth his receiving, my lady gave great encouragement to play; so that, by a moderate computation, it amounted to £1000, of which a small share was given to the grooms of the chamber, and the rest made a perquisite to his excellency: for Mrs. Lloyd having a husband, and a bishopric promised her, the other pretensions were cut off.

He met Lieutenant-General Langston in the Court of Requests, and presented a gentleman to him, saying, "This is a particular friend of mine; he tells me he is a lieutenant in your regiment; I must desire you will take the first opportunity to give him a troop, and you will oblige me mightily." The lieutenant-general answered, "He had served very well, and had very good pretensions to a troop, and that he would give him the first that fell." With this the gentleman was mighty well satisfied, returned thanks, and withdrew. Upon which his excellency said immediately, "I was forced to speak for him, as a great many of his friends have votes at elections; but d—n him, he is a rogue, therefore take no care for him."

He brought one May to the Duke of Ormond, and recommended him as a very honest gentleman, and desired his grace would provide for him; which his grace promised him. So May withdrew. As soon as he was gone, his lordship immediately said to the duke, "That fellow is the greatest rogue in Christendom."

Colonel Coward having received pay for some time in two or three regiments, as captain, but never done any other service to the crown than eating and

drinking in the expedition to Cadiz under the Duke of Ormond, finding he had not pretensions enough to rise, after he had sold the last employment he had, applied to his excellency, who represented him in such a light, that he got above £900 as an arrear of half pay, which he had no title to, and a pension of 10s. a day; but he reckoned this as much too little for his wants, as everybody else did too much for his pretensions, gave in a second petition to the queen for a farther addition of 10s. a day; which being referred to his excellency, he gave him a favourable report, by means whereof, it is hoped, his merit will be still farther rewarded.

He turned out the poor gatekeeper of Chapelizod gate, though he and his wife were each above sixty years old, without assigning any cause, and they are now starving.

As for the business of the arsenal, it was the product of chance, and never so much as thought of by the persons who of late have given so many good reasons for the building of it, till, upon inquiring into the funds, they were found to hold out so well, that there was a necessity of destroying sixty or seventy thousand pounds, otherwise his excellency, for that time, could hardly have had the credit of taxing the kingdom. Upon this occasion, many projects were proposed, all which at last gave way to the proposal of a worthy person, who had often persuaded the nation to do itself a great deal of harm, by attempting to do itself a little good; which was, that forty thousand arms should be provided for the militia, and ammunition in proportion, to be kept in four arsenals to be built for that purpose: this was accordingly put into the heads of a bill, and then this worthy patriot, with his usual sincerity, declared he would not consent to the giving of money for any other use, as everybody thought by

the words he spoke; though afterward he showed them that his meaning was not to be known by the vulgar acceptation of words: for he not only gave his consent to the bill, but used all the art and industry he was master of to have it pass; though the money was applied in it to the building of one arsenal only, and ammunition and other stores proportionable, without one word of the militia. So the arsenal was conceived and afterward formed in a proper manner; but when it came to be brought forth, his excellency took it out of the hands that had formed it, as far as he could, and, contrary to all precedents, put it out of the care of the ordnance board, who were properly to have taken care of the receipt and payment of the money without any farther charge to the public, and appointed his second secretary, Mr. Denton, to be paymaster, whose salary was a charge of above five hundred pounds in the whole: then, thinking this was too small a charge to put the public to for nothing, he made an establishment for that work, consisting of one superintendent at three pounds *per* week, eight overseers at seven pounds four shillings a week, and sixteen assistants at seven pounds four shillings a week, making in all seventeen pounds eight shillings a week: and these were, for the greatest part, persons who had no knowledge of such business; and their honesty was equal to their knowledge, as it has since appeared by the notorious cheats and neglects that have been made out against them: insomuch that the work they have overseen, which, with their salaries, has cost near three thousand pounds, might have been done for less than eighteen hundred pounds, if it had been agreed for by the yard, which is the usual method, and was so proposed in the estimate: and this is all a certainty, because all that has been done is only removing

earth, which has been exactly computed by the yard, and might have been so agreed for.

Philip Savage, Esq., as chancellor of the exchequer, demanded fees of the commissioners of the revenue for sealing writs in the queen's business, and showed them for it some sort of precedents; but they, not being well satisfied with them, wrote to Mr. South, one of the commissioners, (then in London,) to inquire the practice there. He sent them word upon inquiry, that fees were paid there upon the like cases; so they adjudged it for him, and constantly paid him fees. If therefore there was a fault, it must lie at their door, for he never offered to stop the business; yet his excellency knew so well how to choose an attorney and solicitor-general, that when the case was referred to them, they gave it against the chancellor, and said he had forfeited his place by it, and ought to refund the money, (being about two hundred pounds *per annum*;) but never found any fault in the commissioners, who adjudged the case for him, and might have refused him the money if they had thought fit.

Captain Robert Fitzgerald, father to the present Earl of Kildare, had a grant from King Charles the Second of the office of comptroller of the musters, during the lives of Captain Chambre Brabazon, now Earl of Meath, and George Fitzgerald, elder brother to the present Earl of Kildare; which the said Robert Fitzgerald enjoyed with a salary of three hundred pounds *per annum*; and after his death his son George enjoyed it; till my Lord Galway did, by threats, compel him to surrender the said patent for a pension of two hundred pounds *per annum*; which he enjoyed during his life. Some time ago the present Earl of Kildare, as heir to his father and brother, looked upon himself to be injured by the surrender

of the said patent, which should have come to him, the Earl of Meath being still living; therefore, in order to right himself, did petition her majesty; which petition, as usual, was referred to the Earl of Wharton, then lord-lieutenant, who, being at that time in London, referred it, according to the common method on such occasions, to the lord chancellor and Lieutenant-General Ingoldsby, the then lords justices of this kingdom; who, for their information, ordered the attorney-general to inquire whether the Earl of Kildare had any legal title to the said patent, which he, in a full report, said he had: and they referred it to the deputy vice-treasurer to inquire into the nature of the office, and to give them his opinion, whether he thought it was useful or necessary for her majesty's service. He gave in his report, and said he thought it both useful and necessary; and, with more honesty than wit, gave the following reasons: first, that the muster-master-general computed the pay of the whole military list, which is above £200,000 *per annum;* so, having no check on him, might commit mistakes, to the great prejudice of the crown: and, secondly, because he had himself found out several of those mistakes, which a comptroller might prevent. The lords justices approved of these reasons, and so sent over their report to my lord-lieutenant, that they thought the office useful and necessary: but Colonel P——r, the muster-master-general, being then in London, and having given my lord-lieutenant one thousand pounds for his consent to enjoy that office, after he had got her majesty's orders for a patent, thought a check upon his office would be a troublesome spy upon him; so he pleaded the merit of his thousand pounds, and desired, in consideration thereof, that his excellency would free

him from an office that would put it out of his power to wrong the crown; and, to strengthen his pretensions, put my lady in mind of what money he had lost to her at play; who immediately, out of a grateful sense of benefits received, railed as much against the lords justices' report, as ever she had done against the Tories; and my lord-lieutenant, prompted by the same virtue, made his report, that there needed no comptroller to that office, because he controlled it himself; which (now having given his word for it) he will, beyond all doubt, effectually do for the future: although since, it has been plainly made appear, that for want of some control on that office, her majesty has been wronged of many hundred pounds by the roguery of a clerk, and that during the time of his excellency's government; of which there has been but a small part refunded, and the rest has not been inquired after, lest it should make it plainly appear that a comptroller in that office is absolutely necessary.

His excellency being desirous, for a private reason, to provide for the worthless son of a worthless father, who had lately sold his company, and of course all pretension to preferment in the army, took this opportunity: a captain in the oldest regiment in the kingdom, being worn out with service, desired leave to sell, which was granted him; and accordingly, for a consideration agreed upon, he gave a resignation of his company to a person approved of by the commander of the regiment, who at the same time applied to his excellency for leave for another captain of his regiment, who is an engineer in her majesty's service in Spain, and absent by her majesty's licence: his excellency hearing that, said they might give him a company in Spain, for he would dispose of his here; and so, notwithstanding all

the commanders of the regiment could urge, he gave the company, which was regularly surrendered, to his worthy favourite; and the other company, which was a disputable title, to the gentleman who had paid his money for that which was surrendered.

Talking one morning, as he was dressing, (at least a dozen people present,) of the debates in council about the affair of Trim, he said the Lord Chief Justice Dolben * had laid down as law a thing for which a man ought to have his gown stript off, and be whipt at the cart's a—e; and, in less than a quarter of an hour, repeated the expression again: yet, some days after, sent Dr. Lambert † to assure his lordship he said no such thing. Some time after, while he was in England, he used his utmost efforts with the queen to turn him out, but could not: so when he came once again, he took an opportunity (when the judges were to wait on him) to say to them, particularly to Lord Chief Justice Dolben, that perhaps some officious persons would spread stories that he had endeavoured to do some of them a prejudice in England, which he assured them he never had; but, on the contrary, would always, without distinction, show his regard according to merit; which the Lord Chief Justice Broderick was pleased to approve of, by saying, "that was very honourable, that was very gracious;" though he knew the contrary himself.

In England he bid Mr. Deering assure all his friends and acquaintance here, that they, and everybody without distinction, might depend on

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* Sir William Dolben, Bart., Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 1714—1720.

† His principal chaplain.

his favour, as they behaved themselves; with which Mr. Deering was much pleased, and wrote over to his friends accordingly; and, as soon as his back was turned, he jeeringly said, "D—n me, how easily he is bit!"

When the Duke of Ormond was in the government, he gave to Mr. Anderson Saunders the government of Wicklow Castle, which has no salary, but a perquisite of some land worth about £12 *per annum*, which Mr. Saunders gave to the free-school of the town; but his excellency, not liking either the person or the use, without any ceremonies, or reason given, superseded him, by giving a commission for it to Jennings the horse-courser, who lies under several odious and scandalous reflections, particularly of very narrowly escaping the gallows for coining.

Some time after his excellency's landing the second time, he sent for Mr. Saunders among others, desiring their good offices in the ensuing session, and that Mr. Saunders would not take amiss his giving that place to Jennings, for he assured him he did not know it belonged to him; which is highly probable, because men of his knowledge usually give away things, without inquiring how they are in their disposal. Mr. Saunders answered, "He was very glad to find what was done was not out of any particular displeasure to him; because Mr. Whitshed had said at Wicklow (by way of apology for what his excellency had done) that it was occasioned by Mr. Saunders's having it; and seeing his excellency had no ill intention against him, was glad he could tell his excellency it was not legally given away, (for he had a *custodiam* for the land out of the Court of Exchequer;) so his excellency's commission to Jennings could do him no prejudice."

Lieutenant-General Echlin had pay on this establishment as brigadier, till the middle of October 1708, when he was removed from it by his excellency, because his regiment went away at that time, and Lieutenant-General Gorges was put in his room. Some time after, Major-General Rooke, considering the reason why Echlin was removed, concluded that Gorges could not come on till some time in February after, because his regiment also was out of the kingdom till that time; and that therefore he, being the eldest general officer that had no pay as such, was entitled to the brigadier's pay, from the time Echlin was removed till Gorges was qualified to receive it, he having done the duty. His excellency, upon hearing the reason, owned it to be a very good one, and told him, if the money were not paid to Gorges, he should have it, so bid him go see; which he did, and found it was; then his excellency told him he would refer his case to a court of general officers to give their opinion in it, which he said must needs be in his favour, and upon that ground he would find a way to do him right; yet when the general officers sat, he sent for several of them, and made them give the case against Rooke.

When the prosecution against the dissenting minister at Drogheda was depending, one Stevens a lawyer in this town (Dublin) sent his excellency, then in London, a petition, in the name of the said dissenting minister, in behalf of himself and others, who lay under any such prosecution; and in about a fortnight's time his excellency sent over a letter to the then lord justices, to give the attorney and solicitor-general orders, to enter a *noli prosequi* to all such suits; which was done accordingly, though he never so much as inquired into the merits of the cause, or referred the petition to anybody, which is

a justice done to all men, let the case be ever so light. He said he had her majesty's orders for it; but they did not appear under her hand: and it is generally affirmed he never had any.

That his excellency can descend to small gains, take this instance; there were £850 ordered by her majesty, to buy new liveries for the state trumpets, messengers, &c.; but with great industry he got them made cheaper by £200, which he saved out of that sum; and it is reported, that his steward got a handsome consideration besides from the undertaker.

The agent to his regiment, being so also to others, bought a lieutenant's commission in a regiment of foot, for which he never was to do any duty; which service pleased his excellency so well, that he gave him leave to buy a company, and would have had him keep both; but before his pleasure was known, the former was disposed of.

The lord-lieutenant has no power to remove, or put in a solicitor-general, without the queen's letter, it being one of those employments excepted out of his commission; yet, because Sir Richard Levinge disobliged him by voting according to his opinion, he removed him, and put in Mr. Forster,* although he had no queen's letter for so doing; only a letter from Mr. Secretary Boyle, that her majesty designed to remove him.

The privy council in Ireland have a great share of the administration; all things being carried by the consent of the majority, and they sign all orders and proclamations there, as well as the chief governor. But his excellency disliked so great a share of power in any but himself; and when matters

* Afterward recorder of the city of Dublin, and Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

were debated in council otherwise than he approved, he would stop them, and say, "Come, my lords, I see how your opinions are, and therefore I will not take your votes;" and so would put an end to the dispute.

One of his chief favourites was a scandalous clergyman, a constant companion of his pleasures, who appeared publicly with his excellency, but never in his habit, and who was a hearer and sharer of all the lewd and blasphemous discourses of his excellency and his cabal. His excellency presented this worthy divine to one of the bishops, with the following recommendation: "My lord, Mr. —— is a very honest fellow, and has no fault, but that he is a little too immoral." He made this man chaplain to his regiment, though he had been so infamous, that a bishop in England refused to admit him to a living he had been presented to, till the patron forced him to it by law.

His excellency recommended the Earl of Inchiquin to be one of the lords justices in his absence, and was much mortified when he found Lieutenant-General Ingoldsby appointed without any regard to his recommendation; particularly because the usual salary of a lord justice, in the lord-lieutenant's absence, is £100 per month, and he had bargained with the earl for £40.

I will send you, in a packet or two, some particulars of his excellency's usage of the convocation; of his infamous intrigues with Mrs. Coningsby;* an account of his arbitrary proceedings about the

* To this intrigue may probably belong the charge in the Examiner, No. XVII., that, "on a day set apart for public prayer for the safety of the commonwealth, he stole at evening in a chair to a married woman of infamous character, against all decency and prudence, as well as against all laws, both human and divine."

election of a magistrate in Trim;* his selling the place of a privy-counsellor and commissioner of the revenue to Mr. Conolly;† his barbarous injustice to Dean Jephson and poor Will Crow; his deciding a case at hazard to get my lady twenty guineas, but in so scandalous and unfair a manner, that the arrantest sharper would be ashamed of; the common custom of playing on Sunday in my lady's closet; the *partie quarrée* between her ladyship and Mrs. Fl——d, and two young fellows dining privately and frequently at Clontarf, where they used to go in a hackney coach; and his excellency's making no scruple of dining in a hedge tavern whenever he was invited; with some other passages which I hope you will put into some method, and correct the style, and publish as speedily as you can.

Note, Mr. Savage, beside the prosecution about his fees, was turned out of the council for giving his vote in parliament, in a case where his excellency's own friends were of the same opinion, till they were wheedled or threatened out of it by his excellency.

The particulars before mentioned I have not yet received. Whenever they come, I shall publish them in a Second Part.

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* The disputes about the Trim elections are often mentioned in the Journal.

† Afterwards speaker. "Conolly is out, and Mr. Roberts in his place.—That employment cost Conolly three thousand pounds to Lord Wharton, so he has made one ill bargain in his life."—*Journal*, 28th September 1710.

SOME

REMARKS

UPON A PAMPHLET ENTITLED

A LETTER TO THE SEVEN LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO EXAMINE GREG.

BY THE AUTHOR OF THE EXAMINER.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1711.

THE story of Greg was briefly this. He was a vicious and necessitous person, incautiously admitted by Mr. Harley, when secretary of state, into his office as a clerk. The lowness of this man's salary, and the negligence with which papers of consequence were left exposed to his inspection, prompted him to open a treasonable correspondence with Monsieur Chamillard, to betray to France the secrets of the British Government. Being almost immediately detected, a committee of seven lords, all zealous Whigs, were appointed for his examination. These were the Dukes of Devonshire, Somerset, and Bolton, the Earl of Wharton, Lord Viscount Townsend, Lord Somers, and Lord Halifax. As the intrigue, by which Harley was placed in opposition to the Whig interest, was already concocted, there can be no doubt that the committee were desirous to fix upon him some accession to the crime of his clerk. For this purpose, Greg was repeatedly examined while in Newgate. Nay, after he had been tried and condemned for high treason at the Old Bailey, (19th January 1708–9,) he was respited from time to time till the 28th of April following. But during this space, having, as it were, life

and death before his eyes, Greg never varied from his original declaration, that he had no accomplices, and had committed the crime merely from private mercenary motives. Even his dying speech, in which he fully and explicitly exculpated Harley, by name, from any participation in his guilt, was, contrary to custom and to justice, withheld from the public by the sheriff, until a direct application was made to Lord Sunderland, which he was probably ashamed to refuse. The committee of nobles evinced so much anxiety to extort a farther confession from this criminal, that they lost the advantage which they had gained over Harley. In resenting the undue exertions made to implicate the secretary in a crime of which he was innocent, the public forgot the culpable negligence with which the secrets of the state had been exposed in his office to the meanest clerks, and his want of caution in chusing inferiors unfit to be trusted in that station.

When Harley came into office, and was wounded by Guiscard, the history of Greg was again brought up by Swift in the Examiner, as a parallel attempt upon that statesman's life, although conducted by other means. See two Examiners on this subject, Nos. XXXII. and XXXIII. An answer was made to this accusation on the Whig party, by their professed champion the conductor of the Medley, in No. XXVI. But the charge of subornation was still more directly urged against the lords of the committee by one Francis Hoffman, in a pamphlet called, "Secret Transactions during the hundred days Mr. William Greg lay in Newgate under sentence of death for high treason, from the day of his sentence to the day of his execution." This piece contains Greg's dying declaration, and a letter from the Rev. Mr. Paul Lorraine, the ordinary of Newgate, stating the solicitations which had been used with Greg while in prison, and his uniform and solemn exculpation of Mr. Harley. This pamphlet called forth in reply, "A Letter to the seven Lords of the Committee appointed to examine Greg;" the purpose of which was, to clear these noblemen of the foul inuendo fixed upon them by the author of the Examiner, and by the publication called "Secret Transactions."

As in this contest the character of the Tory minister of state and those of the leading nobles of the Whig party were put at issue in opposition to each other, it was thought necessary that Swift should enter the combat in reply to the letter to the Seven Lords. In his Journal, August 24, 1711, he informs Stella, with his usual affectation of reserve, "there is a pamphlet come out in answer to a Letter to the Seven Lords who examined Greg. The answer is by the real author of the Examiner, as I believe, for it is very well written." I have already stated my opinion, that in this and similar passages, Swift had no intention to conceal from

Stella his real concern in political publications, but merely to guard against the chance of an intercepted letter becoming evidence against the writer.

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THOSE who have given themselves the trouble to write against me, either in single papers or pamphlets, (and they are pretty numerous,) do all agree in discovering a violent rage, and at the same time affecting an air of contempt toward their adversary; which, in my humble opinion, are not very consistent: and therefore it is plain, that their fury is real and hearty, their contempt only personated. I have pretty well studied this matter, and would caution writers of their standard, never to engage in that difficult attempt of despising; which is a work to be done in cold blood, and only by a superior genius, to one at some distance beneath him. I can truly affirm, I have had a very sincere contempt for many of those who have drawn their pens against me; yet I rather chose the cheap way of discovering it by silence and neglect, than be at the pains of new terms to express it: I have known a lady value herself upon a haughty disdainful look, which very few understood, and nobody alive regarded. Those commonplace terms of infamous scribbler, prostitute libeller, and the like, thrown abroad without propriety or provocation, do ill personate the true spirit of contempt, because they are such as the meanest writer,* whenever he pleases, may use toward the best. I remember indeed a parish fool, who, with a great deal of

* In the Letter, the author of the Examiner was treated as the *most stupid blunderer*, the *falsest scribbler*, the *most abandoned wretch*, the *scum of mankind*, and the *basest flatterer alive.*

deformity, carried the most disdainful look I ever observed in any countenance: and it was the most prominent part of his folly; but he was thoroughly in earnest, which these writers are not: for there is another thing I would observe, that my antagonists are most of them so, in a literal sense; breathe real vengeance, and extend their threats to my person, if they knew where to find it; wherein they are so far from despising, that I am sensible they do me too much honour. The author of the Letter to the Seven Lords takes upon him the three characters of a despiser, a threatener, and a railer; and succeeds so well in the two last, that it has made him miscarry in the first. It is no unwise proceeding, which the writers of that side have taken up, to scatter their menaces in every paper they publish; it may perhaps look absurd, ridiculous, and impudent, in people at mercy to assume such a style; but the design is right, to endeavour persuading the world that it is they who are the injured party, that they are the sufferers, and have a right to be angry.

However, there is one point, wherein these gentlemen seem to stretch this wise expedient a little farther than it will allow. I, who for several months undertook to examine into the late management of persons and things, was content sometimes to give only a few hints of certain matters, which I had charity enough to wish might be buried for ever in oblivion, if the confidence of these people had not forced them from me. One instance whereof, among many, is the business of Gregg, the subject of a letter I am now considering. If this piece has been written by direction, as I should be apt to suspect, yet, I am confident, they would not have us think so, because it is a sort of challenge, to let the world into the whole secret of Gregg's affair.

But I suppose they are confident, it is what I am not master of, wherein it is odds but they may be mistaken; for I believe the memorials of that transaction are better preserved, than they seem to be aware of, as perhaps may one day appear.

This writer is offended, because I have said so many severe things with application to particular persons. The Medley has been often in the same story; if they condemn it as a crime in general, I shall not much object; at least I will allow it should be done with truth and caution; but, by what argument will they undertake to prove that it is pardonable on one side, and not on the other? Since the late change of ministry, I have observed many of that party take up a new style, and tell us, "That this way of personal reflection ought not to be endured; they could not approve of it; it was against charity and good manners." When the Whigs were in power, they took special care to keep their adversaries silent; then all kind of falsehood and scurrility was doing good service to the cause, and detecting evil principles. Now, that the face of things is changed, and we have liberty to retort upon them, they are for calling down fire from heaven upon us; though, by a sort of indulgence which they were strangers to, we allow them equal liberty of the press with ourselves; and they even now make greater use of it, against persons in the highest power and credit, than we do against those who have been discarded, for the most infamous abuse of both.

Who encouraged and rewarded the Observator and Review,* for many years together, in charging the whole body of the clergy with the most odious crimes and opinions; in declaring all who took

* Conducted by Tutchin and De Foe, both dissenters.

oaths to the government, and called themselves Tories, to be worse than papists and nonjurors; in exposing the universities, as seminaries of the most pernicious principles in church and state: in defending the Rebellion, and the murder of King Charles I., which they asserted to be altogether as justifiable as the late Revolution? Is there a great man now in power, or in any credit with the queen, whom those worthy undertakers have not treated, by name, in the most ignominious manner? Even since this great change of affairs, with what amazing licentiousness has the writer of the Medley attacked every person of the present ministry, the speaker of the House of Commons, and the whole senate! He has turned into ridicule the results of the council and the parliament, as well as the just and generous endeavours of the latter, to pay the debts, and restore the credit of the nation, almost ruined by the corruption and management of his own party.

And are these the people who complain of personal reflections; who so confidently invoke the men in power (whom they have so highly obliged) to punish or silence me for reflecting on their exploded heroes? Is there no difference between men chosen by the prince, reverenced by the people for their virtue, and others rejected by both for the highest demerits? Shall the Medley and his brothers fly out with impunity against those who preside at the helm? and am I to be torn in pieces, because I censure others, who, for endeavouring to split the vessel against a rock, are put under the hatches?

I now proceed to the pamphlet which I intend to consider. It is a letter written to seven great men, who were appointed to examine Gregg in Newgate. The writer tells their lordships, that the Examiner has charged them with endeavouring, by bribery

and subornation of that criminal, to take away Mr. Harley's life. If there be anything among the papers I have writ, which may be applied to these persons, it would have become this author to have cleared them fully from the accusation, and then he might at leisure have fallen upon me as a liar and misrepresenter; but of that he has not offered a syllable; the weight of his charge lies here,—that such an author as the Examiner should presume, by certain inuendoes, to accuse any great persons of such a crime. My business, in those papers, was to represent facts; and I was as sparing as possible of reflecting upon particular persons; but the mischief is, that the readers have always found names to tally with those facts; and I know no remedy for this. As, for instance, in the case here before us. An under clerk in the secretary's office, of fifty pounds a-year, is discovered to hold correspondence with France, and apprehended by his master's order, before he could have opportunity to make his escape by the private warning of a certain person, a professed enemy to the secretary. The criminal is condemned to die. It is found, upon his trial, that he was a poor profligate fellow; the secretary, at that time, was under the mortal hatred of a violent prevailing party, who dreaded him for his great abilities, and his avowed design to break their destructive measures.

It was very well known, that a secretary of state has little or no intercourse with the lower clerks, but with the under secretaries,* who are the more immediate masters of those clerks, and are, and ought to be, as they then were, gentlemen of worth; however, it would pass well enough in the world,

* Harley's under secretary, in 1707–8, was Swift's friend, Erasmus Lewis.

that Gregg was employed in Mr. Secretary Harley's office, and was consequently one of his clerks, which would be ground enough to build upon it what suggestions they pleased. Then for the criminal, he was needy and vicious; he owed his death to the secretary's watchful pursuit of him, and would, therefore, probably incline to hearken to any offers that would save his life, gratify his revenge, and make him easy in his fortune; so that, if a work of darkness were to be done, it must be confessed, here were proper motives, and a proper instrument. But ought we to suspect any persons of such a diabolical practice? Can all faith, and honour, and justice, be thus violated by men?—questions proper for a pulpit, or well becoming a philosopher: But what if it were *regnandi causa*, and that, perhaps, in a literal sense? Is this an age of the world to think crimes improbable because they are great? Perhaps it is; but what shall we say to some of those circumstances which attended this fact? Who gave rise to this report against Mr. Harley? Will any of his enemies confess, in cold blood, that they did either believe, suspect, or imagine, the secretary, and one of his under clerks, to be joined in corresponding with France? Some of them, I should think, knew better what belonged to such a correspondence, and how it ought to be managed. The nature of Gregg's crime was such, as to be best performed without any accomplices at all; it was, to be a spy here for the French, and to tell them all he knew; and it appears, by his letters, that he never had it in his power to let them into anything of importance. The copy of the queen's letter to the emperor,* which he sent to the enemy, and has made such a noise, was only to desire that Prince

* It was drawn by Mr. Lewis, and corrected by Harley himself.

Eugene might be employed to command in Spain; which, for six weeks before, had been mentioned in all the Gazettes of Europe. It was evident, from the matter of his letters, that no man of consequence could have any share in them. The whole affair had been examined in the cabinet two months before, and there found and reported as only affecting the person of Gregg, who, to supply his vices and his wants, was tempted to engage in that correspondence; it is therefore hard to conceive, how that examination should be resumed, after such a distance of time, with any fair or honourable intention. Why were not Gregg's examinations published, which were signed by his own hand, and had been taken in the cabinet two months before the committee of the House was appointed to re-examine him? Why was he pressed so close, to cry out with horror, "Good God! would you have me accuse Mr. Harley, when he is wholly innocent?" Why were all the answers returned to the queries sent him immediately burned? I cannot, in my conscience, but think that the party was bound in honour to procure Gregg a pardon, which was openly promised him, upon condition of making an ingenuous confession, unless they had some other notions of what is ingenuous, than is commonly meant by that word. A confession may be nevertheless ingenuous, for not answering the hopes or designs of those who take it; but, though the word was publicly used, the definition of it was reserved to private interpretation, and, by a capricious humour of fortune, a most flagitious, though repenting villain, was hanged for his virtue. It could not, indeed, consist with any kind of prudence then in fashion, to spare his life, and thereby leave it in his power, at any time, to detect their practices, which he might afterwards do at any time, with so much honour to himself.

But I have the luck to be accused by this author in very good company; the two Houses of Parliament in general, and the speaker of the House of Commons in particular; whom he taxes with falsehood and absurdity as well as myself, though in a more respectful manner, and by a sort of irony. The whole kingdom had given the same interpretation that I had done, to some certain passages in the address from both Houses, upon the attempt of Guiscard; friends and enemies agreed in applying the word faction. But the speaker is much clearer; talks (as I have mentioned in another place) of some unparalleled attempts, and uses other terms that come pretty home to the point. As to what the Parliament affirms, this author makes it first as absurd and impracticable as he can; and then pretends to yield, as pressed by so great an authority; and explains their meaning into nonsense, in order to bring them off from reflecting upon his party. Then for the speaker, this writer says, he is but a single man; and, because his speech was in words too direct to avoid,* he advises him to save his honour and virtue, by owning a solecism in his speech; and to write less correctly, rather than mean maliciously. What an expedient this advocate has found to remove the load of an accusation! He answers, "The crime is horrible; that great men ought not to be thus insolently charged." I reply, "That the Parliament and speaker appear, in many points, to be of the same opinion."—He rejoins, "That he is pressed by too great an authority; that, perhaps, those wise assemblies, and that honourable gentleman, (who besides is but a single man,) may probably speak nonsense; they must either deliver a

* This word is improperly used here, both in point of sense and grammar. It should be—too direct *to be evaded.*

solecism, or be malicious; and, in good manners, he rather thinks it may be the former."

The writer of the letter, having thus dispatched the Examiner, falls next upon a paper called Secret Transactions, &c.,* written, as he tells us, by one Francis Hoffman, and the ordinary of Newgate; persons whom I have not the honour to be known to, (whatever my betters may be,) nor have yet seen their productions; but, by what is cited from them in the letter, it should seem, they have made some untoward observations. However, the same answer still serves; not a word to control what they say; only they are a couple of daring, insolent wretches, to reflect upon the greatest and best men in England; and there is an end. I have no sort of regard for that same Hoffman, to whose character I am a perfect stranger; but methinks the ordinary of Newgate should be treated with more respect, considering what company he has kept, and what visitors he may have had. However, I shall not enter into a point of controversy, whether the lords were acquainted with the ordinary, or the ordinary with the lords, since this author leaves it undecided. Only one thing I take to be a little hard. It is now confessed, on all hands, that Mr. Harley was most unjustly suspected of joining with an under clerk in corresponding with France. The suspicion being in itself unreasonable, and without the least probable grounds, wise men began to consider what violent enemies that gentleman had; they found the report most industriously spread; the Whigs, in common discourse, discovering their wishes that he might be found guilty; the management of the whole affair was put into the hands of such as, it is supposed, would at least not

* See introductory remarks.

be sorry to find more than they expected. The criminal's dying speech is unfortunately published, wherein he thanks God he was not tempted to save his life by falsely accusing his master, with more to the same purpose: from all this put together, it was no very unnatural conjecture, that there might have been some tampering. Now, I say, that it is a little hard, that Mr. Harley's friends must not be allowed to have their suspicions as well as his enemies; and this author, if he intended to deal fairly, should have spent one paragraph in railing at those who had the impudence and villany to suspect Mr. Harley, and then proceeded in due method to defend his committee of examiners; but that gentleman being, as this author says of the speaker, but a single man, I suppose his reputation and life were esteemed but of little consequence.

There is one state of the case in this letter, which I cannot well omit, because the author, I suppose, conceives it to be extremely cunning and malicious; that it cuts to the quick, and is wonderfully severe upon Mr. Harley, without exposing the writer to any danger. I say this to gratify him, to let him know I take his meaning, and discover his inclinations. His parallel case is this: "Supposing Guiscard had been intimate with some great officer of state, and had been suspected to communicate his most secret affairs with that minister; then he asks, 'Whether it would have been subornation, or seeking the life and blood of that officer, in these great lords of the council, if they had narrowly examined this affair, inquired with all exactness what he knew of this great officer, what secrets he had imparted to him, and whether he were privy to his corresponding?" &c. In this parallel, Guiscard's case

is supposed to be the same with Gregg's; and that of the great officer with Mr. Harley's. So that here he lays down as a thing granted, that Gregg was intimate with Mr. Harley, and suspected to communicate his most secret affairs to him. Now, did ever any rational man suspect, that Mr. Harley, first principal secretary of state, was intimate with an under clerk, or upon the foot of having most secret affairs communicated to him from such a counsellor, from one in so inferior a station, whom perhaps he hardly knew by sight? why was that report raised, but for the uses which were afterward made of it? or, why should we wonder that they, who were so wicked as to be authors of it, would be scrupulous in applying it to the only purpose for which it could be raised?

Having thus considered the main design of this letter, I shall make a few remarks upon some particular passages in it.

First, Though it be of no consequence to this dispute, I cannot but observe a most evident falsehood, which he repeats three or four times in his letter, that I make the world believe I am set on work by great people. I remember myself to have several times affirmed the direct contrary, and so I do still; and if I durst tell him my name, which he is so desirous to know, he would be convinced that I am of a temper to think no man great enough to set me on work; nay, I am content to own all the scurrilous titles he gives me, if he be able to find one innuendo through all those papers that can any way favour this calumny; the malice of which is not intended against me, but the present ministry; to make the world believe, that what I have published is the utmost effort of all they can say or think against the last; whereas it is nothing more than

the common observations of a private man, deducing consequences and effects from very natural and visible causes.

He tells us, with great propriety of speech, that the seven lords and their friends are treated as subverters of the constitution, and such as have been long endeavouring to destroy both church and state. This puts me in mind of one, who first murdered a man, and afterward endeavoured to kill him; and therefore I here solemnly deny them to have been subverters of the constitution; but that some people did their best endeavours, I confidently believe.

He tells me particularly, that I acquit Guiscard, by a blunder, of a design against Mr. Harley's life. I declare he injures me; for I look upon Guiscard to be full as guilty of the design, as even those were who tampered with the business of Gregg; and both, (to avoid all cavilling,) as guilty as any man ever was that suffered death by law.

He calls the stabbing of Mr. Harley a sore blow; but I suppose he means his recovery: that indeed was a sore blow to the interests of his party: but I take the business of Gregg to have been a much sorer blow to their reputation.

This writer wonders how I should know their lordships' hearts, because he hardly knows his own. I do not well see the consequence of this: perhaps he never examines into his own heart, perhaps it keeps no correspondence with his tongue or his pen: I hope, at least, it is a stranger to those foul terms he has strewed throughout his letter; otherwise I fear I know it too well: for out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh. But, however, actions are pretty good discoverers of the heart, though words are not;

and whoever has once endeavoured to take away my life, if he has still the same, or rather much greater cause, whether it be a just one or not, and has never shown the least sign of remorse; I may venture, without being a conjurer, to know so much of his heart, as to believe he would repeat his attempt, if it were in his power. I must needs quote some following lines in the same page, which are of an extraordinary kind, and seem to describe the blessed age we should live in, under the return of the late administration. "It is very well (says he) that people's heads are to stand on their shoulders as long as the laws will let them; if it depended upon anything besides, it may be your lordships' seven heads might be as soon cut off, as that one gentleman's, were you in power." Then he concludes the paragraph with this charitable prayer, in the true moderation style, and in Italic letter: "May the head that has done the kingdom the greatest mischief fall first, let it be whose it will!" The plain meaning of which is this: If the late ministry were in power, they would act just as the present ministry would if there were no law, which perhaps may be true: but I know not any ministry upon earth that I durst confide in, without law; and if, at their coming in again, they design to make their power the law, they may as easily cut off seven heads as one. As for the head that has done the greatest mischief to the kingdom, I cannot consent it should fall, till he and I have settled the meaning of the word mischief. Neither do I much approve this renewing an old fashion of whipping off heads by a prayer: it began from what some of us think an ill precedent. Then that unlimited clause, "let it be whose it will," perplexes me not a little: I wish, in compliance

with an old form, he had excepted my Lord Mayor: otherwise, if it were to be determined by their vote, whose head it was that had done the greatest mischief; which way can we tell how far their predecessors' principles may have influenced them? God preserve the queen and her ministers from such undistinguishing disposers of heads!

His remarks upon what the ordinary told Hoffman are singular enough. The ordinary's words are, "That so many endeavours were used to corrupt Gregg's conscience, &c., that he felt as much uneasiness lest Gregg should betray his master, as if it had been his own case." The author of the letter says to this, "That for aught the ordinary knew, he might confess what was exactly true of his master, and that therefore an indifferent person might as well be uneasy, for fear Gregg should discover something of his master, that would touch his life, and* yet might have been true." But, if these were really the ordinary's thoughts at that time, they were honest and reasonable. He knew it was highly improbable that a person of Mr. Harley's character and station should make use of such a confederate in treason: if he had suspected his loyalty, he could not have suspected his understanding. And knowing how much Mr. Harley was feared and hated by the men in power, and observing that resort to Gregg at unseasonable hours, and that strange promises were often made him by men of note; all this, put together, might naturally incline the ordinary to think, the design could be nothing else, but that Mr. Harley should be accused in spite of his innocence.†

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* It ought to be—"*which* yet might have been true."

† It is but justice to the ordinary to state, that before he entertained this anxiety, lest Gregg should accuse Harley, he had

This charge of subornation is, it seems, so extraordinary a crime, that the author challenges all the books in the new lord's library * (because he hears it is the largest) to furnish us with an instance like it. What if this charge should be true? Then I, in my turn, would challenge all the books in another lord's library, which is ten times larger, (though perhaps not so often disturbed,) to furnish us with an instance like this. If it be so monstrous a thing to accuse others of subornation, what epithet is left to bestow upon those who are really guilty of the crime itself? I think it beyond controversy, that subornation was practised in the business of Gregg. This manifestly appears from those few facts I have mentioned: let the Whigs agree among them where to fix it. Nay, it is plain, by the great endeavours made to stifle his last speech, that they would have suborned the poor man even after he was dead: And is this a matter now to be called in question, much less to be denied?

He compares the examination of Guiscard with that of Gregg; talks of several great persons who

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satisfied himself of the latter's innocence. "I often," says he, "pressed him to discover who, if any, were concerned with him in that treasonable fact; and pressed him also, in a special manner, upon his eternal salvation, and as he should answer it at the great tribunal of God, freely to tell me, whether Mr. Harley did know anything of it, or was any ways concerned, or to be concerned in it? To which he answered me, with the greatest and solemnest asseveration and protestation imaginable, (he being all the while on his knees, and calling the great God to witness,) that that honourable gentleman, Mr. Robert Harley, knew nothing of it, neither was to know or be concerned in it. Which he having said, and often repeated to me, I *then* grew jealous of those persons that frequently came to him, who, as he told me, were so far from offering him anything to quiet his conscience, that, on the contrary, they gave a great disturbance to it."—*The Ordinary's Letter to Francis Hoffman in Secret Transactions.*

* That of Harley, newly created Earl of Oxford.

examined the former in prison, and promised him the queen's pardon, if he would make a full discovery. Then the author puts the case, "How wicked it would be to charge these honourable counsellers with suborning Guiscard by promises of life, &c., to accuse the innocent and betray his friend!" Does it anywhere appear, that those noble persons, who examined Guiscard, put leading questions to him, or pointed out where they would have him fix an accusation? Did they name some mortal enemy of their own, and then drop words of pardon and reward, if he would accuse him? Did Guiscard leave any paper behind him, to justify the innocence of some great person whom he was tempted to accuse? yet perhaps I could think of certain people, who were much more likely to act in concert with Guiscard, than ever Mr. Harley was to be confederate with Gregg. I can imagine several who wished the penknife in Mr. Harley's heart, though Guiscard alone was desperate enough to attempt it. Who were those, that by their discourses, as well as countenances, discovered their joy when the blow was struck? Who were those, that went out, or stood silent, when the address and congratulation were voted? and who were those that refined so far, as to make Mr. Harley confederate with his own assassin?

There is one point, which this author affirms more than once or twice in a transient way, as if he would have us suppose it a thing granted; but is of such a weight, that it wants nothing but truth to make the late change of ministry a very useless and dangerous proceeding: for, so it must be allowed, if, as he affirms, "Affairs are still under the like management, and must be so, because there is no better; that this set of men must take the same courses in their ministration, with their predecessors,

or ten times worse; that the new servants go on in the old methods, and give the same counsel and advice, on the like occasions, with the old ones:" with more to the same purpose. A man may affirm, without being of the cabinet, that every syllable of this is absolutely false; unless he means that money is still raised by parliament, and borrowed upon new funds; that the Duke of Marlborough still commands the army; that we have a treasurer, keeper, president, and secretaries, as we had before; and that because the council meets much about the same times and places as formerly, therefore they give the same advice, and pursue the same measures. What does he think of finding funds to pay the old unprovided for debt of the navy, and erecting a company for the South Sea trade? What does he think of Mr. Hill's expedition, to preserve our trade in the West Indies? What of the methods taken to make our allies pay their quotas to the war, which was a thing so scandalously either neglected, connived at, or encouraged? What of the care to retrench the exorbitant expences of the Spanish war? What of those many abuses and corruptions at home, which have been so narrowly inquired into, and in a good part redressed? Evils, so deeply radicated, must require some time to remedy them, and cannot be all set right in a few months. Besides, there are some circumstances known by the names of honour, probity, good sense, great capacity for business; as likewise, certain principles of religion and loyalty, the want, or possession, of all which, will make a mighty difference even in the pursuit of the same measures. There is also one characteristic, which will ever distinguish the late ministry from the present: That the former, sacrificing all other regards to the increase of their wealth and

power, found those were no otherwise to be preserved, but by continuance of the war; whereas the interests, as well as inclinations of the present, dispose them to make use of the first opportunities, for a safe and honourable peace.

The writer goes on upon another parallel case, which is the modern way of reflecting upon a prince and ministry. He tells us, "That the queen was brought to discard her old officers, through the multitude of complaints, secret teasings, and importunate clamours, of a rout of people, led by their priests, and spirited underhand by crafty emissaries." Would not any one who reads this imagine, that the whole rabble, with the clergy at their head, were whispering in the queen's ear, or came in disguise to desire a word with her majesty, like the army of the two kings of Brentford? The unbiassed majority of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom are called, by this son of obscurity, a rout of people, and the clergy their leaders. We have often accused that party for their evil talent of railing perpetually against the clergy, which they discovered at first without any visible reason or provocation, as conscious of the designs they had in view, and therefore wisely began by vilifying those whom they intended to destroy. I have observed formerly, that the party malice against the clergy has been so blind and furious, as to charge them with crimes wholly inconsistent. I find they are still in the same disposition, and that this writer has received direction from his superiors, to pursue the old style upon that article. Accordingly, in the paragraph I am now upon, he represents that reverend body as leaders, cullies, and tools. First, he says, "That rout of secret teasers (meaning the nobility and gentry of the kingdom) were led by the priests." Then he assures us,

"That the queen will, in a year or two, begin to consider who it was that cheated those poor priests." And in case her majesty should have a mind to bring in the old ministry again, he comforts his party, "That the priests are seldom wanting, to become the tools of cunning managers." I desire to know in what sense he would have us to understand, that these poor priests have been cheated. Are they cheated by a fund established for building fifty churches? or the queen's letter empowering them to proceed on the business proper for a convocation? What one single advantage could they possibly lose by this change? They are still indeed abused every day in print, but it is by those who are without the power to hurt them; the serpent has lost his sting, is trodden under foot, and its hissing is contemned. But he confidently affirms, "That, when it shall be thought fit to restore the old ministry, the priests will not be wanting, to become the tools of their cunning managers." This I cannot by any means allow, unless they have some hidden reserve of cunning, which has never yet been produced. The cunningest managers I ever knew among them are, of all others, most detested by the clergy: neither do I remember they have been ever able to make any of them tools, except by making them bishops; even those few they were able to seduce, would not be their tools at a lower rate.

But, because this author, and others of his standard, affect to make use of that word tool, when they have a mind to be shrewd and satirical; I desire once for all to set them right. A tool, and an instrument, in the metaphorical sense, differ thus: the former is an engine in the hands of knaves; the latter in those of wise and honest men. The greatest ministers are instruments in the hands

of princes, and so are princes themselves in the hands of God; and in this sense, the clergy are ready to be instruments of any good to the prince or people. But that the clergy of England, since the Reformation, have at any time been the tools of a party, is a calumny which history and constant experience will immediately confute. Schismatic and fanatic preachers have indeed been perpetually employed that way, with good success; by the faction against King Charles I., to murder their prince, and ruin the monarchy: by King James II., to bring in Popery; and ever since the Revolution, to advance the unmeasurable appetite of power and wealth, among a set of profligate upstarts. But in all these three instances, the established clergy (except a very few, like tares among wheat, and those generally sown by the enemy) were so far from being tools, that in the first, they were persecuted, imprisoned, and deprived; and in the two others, they were great instruments, under God, for preserving our religion and liberty.

In the same paragraph, which contains a project for turning out the present ministry, and restoring the last, he owns, that the queen is now served with more obsequious words, more humble adorations, and a more seeming resignation to her will and pleasure, than she was before. And indeed, if this be not true, her majesty has the worst luck of any prince in Christendom. The reverse of these phrases I take to be rude expressions, insolent behaviour, and a real opposition to her majesty's most just and reasonable commands, which are the mildest terms that the demeanour of some late persons toward their prince can deserve, in return of the highest favours that subjects ever received, whereof a hundred particulars might be produced. So that, according to our author's way of reasoning,

I will put a parallel case in my turn. I have a servant to whom I am exceedingly kind; I reward him infinitely above his merit: beside which, he and his family snap everything they can lay their hands on; they will let none come near me, but themselves and dependants; they misrepresent my best friends, as my greatest enemies; besides, they are so saucy and malapert, there is no speaking to them; so far from any respect, that they treat me as an inferior. At last I pluck up spirit, turn them all out of doors, and take in new ones; who are content with what I allow them, though I have less to spare than formerly: give me their best advice when I ask it, are constantly in the way, do what I bid them, make a bow when they come in and go out, and always give me a respectful answer. I suppose the writer of the letter would tell me, that my present domestics were indeed a little more civil, but the former were better servants.

There are two things wherewith this author is peculiarly angry; first, at the licentious way of the scum of mankind treating the greatest peers in the nation: secondly, that these hedge-writers (a phrase I unwillingly lend him, because it cost me some pains to invent) seldom speak a word against any of the late ministry, but they presently fall to compliment my lord treasurer, and others in great places. On the first, he brings but one instance: but I could produce a good many hundred. What does he think of the Observator, the Review, and the Medley? In his own impartial judgment, may not they as fairly bid for being the scum of mankind as the Examiner? and have they not treated at least as many, and almost as great peers, in as infamous a manner? I grant, indeed, that, through the great defect of truth, genius, learning, and common sense, among the

libellers of that party, they being of no entertainment to the world, after serving the present turn, were immediately forgotten. But this we can remember in gross, that there was not a great man in England, distinguished for his love to the monarchy or the church, who, under the appellations of Tory, Jacobite, Highflier, and other cant words, was not represented as a public enemy, and loaden by name with all manner of obloquy. Nay, have they not even disturbed the ashes, and endeavoured to blast the memories of the dead, and chiefly of those who lost their lives in the service of the monarchy and the church? His other quarrel is at our flattering my lord-treasurer, and other great persons in power. To which I shall only say, for every line written in praise of the present ministry, I will engage to furnish the author with three pages of the most fulsome panegyrics on the least deserving members of the last; which is somewhat more than by the proportion of time, while they were in power, could fall to their share. Indeed, I am apt to think, that the men of wit, at least, will be more sparing in their incense of this kind for the future, and say no more of any great man, now at the helm, than they believe he deserves. Poems, dedications, and other public encomiums, might be of use to those who were obliged to keep up an unnatural spirit in the nation, by supplying it with art; and consequently the authors deserved, and sometimes met, encouragement and reward. But those great patriots, now at the head of affairs, are sufficiently supported by the uncompelled favour of the queen, and the natural disposition of the people. We can do them no service by our applauses, and therefore expect no payment; so that I look upon this kind of stock to have fallen

at least ninety per cent. since the great changes at court.

He puts a few questions, which I am in some pain to answer. "Cannot," says he, "the successors be excellent men, unless the predecessors be villains? Cannot the queen change her ministers, but they must presently be such as neither God nor man can endure? Do noblemen fall from all honour, virtue, and religion, because they are so unhappy as to fall from their prince's favour?" I desire to say something, in the first place, to this last question; which I answer in the negative. However, he will own, that "men should fall from their prince's favour, when they are so unhappy as to fall from all honour, virtue, and religion;" though I must confess my belief, at the same time, that some certain persons have lately fallen from favour, who could not, for a very manifest reason, be said, properly speaking, to fall from any of the other three. To his other questions I can only say, that the constant language of the Whig pamphleteers has been, this twelvemonth past, to tell us, how dangerous a step it was to change the ministry at so nice a juncture; to shake our credit, disoblige our allies, and encourage the French. Then this author tells us, that those discarded politicians were the greatest ministers we ever had; his brethren have said the same thing a hundred times. On the other side, the queen, upon long deliberation, was resolved to part with them; the universal voice of the people was against them; her majesty is the most mild and gracious prince that ever reigned; we have been constantly victorious, and are ruined; the enemy flourishes under his perpetual losses. If these be the consequences of an able, faithful, diligent, and dutiful administration; of that astonishing success,

he says, Providence has crowned us with; what can be those of one directly contrary? But, not to enter into a wide field at present, I faithfully promise the author of the letter, his correspondents, his patrons, and his brethren, that this mystery of iniquity shall be very shortly laid open to the view of the world; when the most ignorant and prejudiced reader will, I hope, be convinced, by facts not to be controlled, how miserably this poor kingdom had been deluded to the very brink of destruction.

He would have it, that the people of England have lost their senses; are bewitched and cheated, mad and without understanding: but that all this will go off by degrees, and then his great men will recover their esteem and credit. I did, in one of my papers, overthrow this idle affected opinion, which has been a thousand times urged by those who most wished, and least believed it; I there showed the difference between a short madness of the people, and their natural bent or genius. I remember, when King James II. went from England, he left a paper behind him, with expressions much to the same purpose; hoping, among other things, that God would open the eyes of the nation. Too much zeal for his religion brought us then in danger of Popery and arbitrary power; too much infidelity, avarice, and ambition, brought us lately into equal danger of atheism and anarchy. The people have not yet opened their eyes, to see any advantage in the two former; nor I hope, will ever find their senses enough to discover the blessings of the two latter. Cannot I see things in another light than this author and his party do, without being blind? Is my understanding lost when it differs from theirs? Am I cheated, bewitched, and out of my senses, because I think

those to have been betrayers of our country whom they call patriots?

He hopes his seven correspondents will never want their places; but is in pain for the poor kingdom lest their places should want them. Now I have examined this matter, and am not at all discouraged. Two of them hold their places still,* and are likely to continue in them: two more were governors of islands;† I believe the author does not imagine those to be among the places which will want men to fill them. God be thanked, a man may command the beef-eaters without being a soldier; I will at any time undertake to do it myself. Then it would be a little hard, if the queen should be at a loss for a steward ‡ to her family. So that, upon the whole, I see but one great employment § which is in any danger of wanting a sufficient person to execute it. We must do as well as we can; yet I have been told, that the bare business of presiding in council does not require such very transcendent abilities; and I am mistaken, if, till within these late years, we have not been some ages without that office. So that I hope things may go well enough, provided the keeper, treasurer, and both the secretaries, will do their duties; and it is happy for the nation, that none of their seven lordships left any of those places to want them.

The writer of the letter concludes it with "an appeal to all the princes and states of Europe, friends and enemies, by name, to give their judg-

* The Duke of Somerset, grand master of the horse.

† The Earl of Wharton, removed from the lieutenancy of Ireland.

‡ From which office the Earl of Devonshire had been removed.

§ That of president of the council, which Lord Somers had occupied.

ment, whether they think the late ministry were wanting in faithfulness, abilities, or diligence, to serve their prince and country?" Now, if he speaks by order of his party, I am humbly of opinion, they have incurred a *præmunire*, for appealing to a foreign jurisdiction; and her majesty may seize their goods and chattels whenever she pleases. In the meantime, I will not accept his appeal, which has been rejected by the queen and both Houses of Parliament. But, let a fair jury be empannelled in any county of England, and I will be determined by their verdict. First, he names the King of France and all his counsellors, with the Pretender and all his favourers and abettors. These I except against; I know they will readily judge the late ministry to be faithful, able, and diligent, in serving their prince and country. The counsels of some people have, in their way, served very much to promote the service of the Pretender, and to enable the French king to assist him; and is not he, in that monarch's opinion as well as his own, their lawful prince? I except against the emperor and the states; because it can be proved upon them, that the plaintiffs and they have an understanding together. I except against any prince who makes unreasonable demands, and threatens to recall his troops if they be not complied with; because they have been forced of late to change their language, and may, perhaps, be shortly obliged to observe their articles more strictly. I should be sorry, for the appealer's sakes, to have their case referred to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, who infallibly would decree them to be all hanged up for their insolence to their sovereign. But, above all, the King of Spain would certainly be against them, when he considers with how scandalous a neglect his interests have been managed; and that the full

possession of his kingdom was made a sacrifice to those whose private or party interest swayed them to the continuance of the war. The author had reason to omit the grand seignior and czar in the list of his judges; the decrees of those princes are too sudden and sanguinary; and their lessons to instruct subjects in behaviour to their princes, by strangling them with a bowstring, or flinging them to be devoured alive by hogs, were enough to deter them from submitting to their jurisdiction.

A NEW

JOURNEY TO PARIS;

TOGETHER WITH SOME SECRET TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN THE FRENCH KING AND AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN.

BY THE SIEUR DU BAUDRIER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

"I had rather be thought a good Englishman, than the best poet, or the greatest scholar, that ever wrote."

PRIOR, Preface to "SOLOMON."

IN 1710–11, the Tory ministry, whose principles and situation laid them under a necessity of making peace with France, contrived to open a communication with that country by means of the Abbé Gualtier, an obscure priest, agent for the French prisoners of war. When matters were thus prepared for the intervention of a more accredited envoy, the celebrated Matthew Prior, whose previous acquaintance with diplomacy fitted him for such a trust, and whose rank was not such as to make his motions observed, was dispatched by the British ministry upon a secret embassy to France. It is said, that this step was proposed by Mons. de Torcy, through the medium of the Earl of Jersey, and that Mr. Prior held an interview with that minister at or near Calais, and immediately returned to England. Notwithstanding every precaution which had been taken to prevent discovery, Prior was recognized upon his landing, and detained by the custom-house officers at Deal, until released by orders from their superiors. This discovery was likely to prove embarrassing to the ministers,

who neither were in a situation to avow the negotiation, nor durst venture to leave unappeased the feverish thirst for political intelligence which always has characterized the English nation. In this dilemma, Swift, "who oiled many a spring that Harley moved," came to the assistance of his patrons with the following pamphlet, which, without communicating a syllable of real intelligence, had the effect of at once amusing the idle, confusing the suspicious, and sounding the temper of the nation at large upon the subject of a negotiation. He himself gives the following account of the piece:

"I have just thought of a project to bite the town. I have told you, that it is now known that Mr. Prior has been lately in France. I will make a printer of my own sit by me one day; and will dictate to him a formal relation of Prior's Journey, with several particulars, all pure invention; and I doubt not but it will take."—*Journal to Stella*, Aug. 31, 1711.

"This morning the printer sent me an account of Prior's Journey; it makes a twopenny pamphlet: I suppose you will see it, for I dare say it will run. It is a formal grave lie, from the beginning to the end. I wrote all but the last page; that I dictated, and the printer wrote. Mr. Secretary sent to me, to dine where he did: it was at Prior's. When I came in, Prior showed me the pamphlet, seemed to be angry, and said, 'Here is our English liberty!' I read some of it; said, 'I liked it mightily, and envied the rogue the thought; for, had it come into my head, I should certainly have done it myself."—*Ibid.* Sept. 11.

"The printer told me he sold yesterday a thousand of 'Prior's Journey,' and had printed five hundred more. It will do rarely, I believe, and is a pure bite."—*Ibid.* Sept. 12.

"Prior's Journey sells still; they have sold two thousand, although the town is empty."—*Ibid.* Sept. 24.

"There came out some time ago an account of Mr. Prior's Journey to France, pretended to be a translation; it is a pure invention from the beginning to the end. I will let your grace into the secret of it. The clamours of a party against any peace without Spain, and railing at the ministry as if they designed to ruin us, occasioned that production, out of indignity and contempt, by way of furnishing fools with something to talk of; and it has had a very great effect."—*Letter to Abp. King*, Oct. 1, 1711.

Although Swift, even to Stella, represents the "Journey to Paris" as mere pleasantry, it was certainly written with a more serious purpose. The cession of Spain to the House of Austria, upon which the former treaty at Gertruydenberg had broken off, is artfully alluded to; and, from the mode in which that part of Mr. Prior's supposed conference should be received, ministers

might be enabled to judge whether they might venture to abandon Spain to the House of Bourbon in the event of a peace. In other respects, the high tone imputed to the British agent was calculated to assure the public, that their rights were under the management of those who would not compromise the national dignity, while the extreme anxiety of the French king and ministers for a peace, necessarily inferred that Britain might have one on her own terms.

When the imposition was discovered, the Whig pamphleteers were outrageous. At first, they doubted whether to fix the pamphlet upon Swift or De Foe: and indeed the minute incidents in the narrative of the Sieur du Baudrier, being such as seemingly would never have occurred to the author of a fiction, have much of the art with which De Foe has given circumstantial authenticity to "Robinson Crusoe," the "Memoirs of a Cavalier," and his other romances. But, as the pen of this author, however excellent in its line, was unequal to the fineness of the raillery preserved through the "Journey to Paris," it failed not soon to be ascribed to the right author. The writer of "Seasonable Remarks on a late Journey to Paris" thus notices Swift's pamphlet; upon which, indeed, his own is a sort of commentary:* "When this account was first published, which was the 11th instant," (the "Seasonable Remarks" are dated 30th September 1711,) people differed in their conjectures and opinions about it; some looking upon it as genuine, others, far the greater number, as fictitious. In this uncertainty the generality still continue. But such as are pretty well acquainted with the secret springs of affairs have assured me, that, though it be not an exact faithful relation of Mr. Prior's negotiation, it contains, however, many true circumstances of his journey. I am further informed, that this supposed letter of Mons. du Baudrier was written by Dr. Swift, formerly chaplain to Sir William Temple, whose letters and posthumous works he has published, and who has since made himself yet more known, as well by some miscellaneous essays, which he owns, as by a more ingenious piece which is fathered upon him. As to his character, it is very ambiguous, and even contradictory: for, as ambition is predominant in him, sways all his other passions, and directs his designs, so he is this day a Whig, the next a Tory, haughty and stiff with most men, cringing and obsequious with those in power. This single passage will characterize him better than any picture I can draw. Big with expectation of high preferment, he attended the Earl of Wharton

* The full title is, "An Account of the State and Progress of the present Negotiation of Peace, with the Reasons for and against a Partition of Spain, &c., in a Letter to a Noble Lord in Worcestershire, 1711."

in Ireland; and the better, as he fondly thought, to merit the patronage of the then reigning party, he, now and then, wrote several lampoons; one of which, levelled against the present lord-treasurer, and inserted, if my memory fails me not, in one of the Tatlers, about a year ago, a friend of mine saw in his hand-writing at Dublin a month before.* But, upon the late revolution in the ministry, our Tantivy immediately tacked about, and, with Mr. Prior, Dr. Freind, and some others, who devoted themselves and their pens to the service of the present ministry, or, to speak more properly, of the hot men of the high-church, was employed, by way of probation, to write the Examiner—that is, to aggravate the failings of the late favourite, and the pretended miscarriages of the Whig ministry, with all the heightenings of rhetoric and malice, to inveigh against them with suitable bitterness, and to involve the whole Whig party in the general accusation." Having given this candid account of the author, the remarker pronounces the account of "A Journey to Paris" to be designed as an *amusement*, "to let the world know, *first*, what few people were ignorant of, viz., that there was a negotiation on foot; and, in the *second* place, what some people doubted, that Mr. Prior insisted on very high terms." And having censured the improbabilities, and false French, which, he says, are the peculiar faults of the relater, who has committed many such errors in his edition of Sir William Temple's Letters, he notices the reflections on the Duke of Marlborough, and adds, very indignantly, "'Tis not anything Jonathan can ever say will be a reflection upon the last ministry, or a merit with the present, who know him to be as unsettled in his politics as in his religion, or rather that he knows as little of the one as he believes of the other. 'Tis pleasant to hear a divine tell the world, how well or ill he stands with statesmen; as this Tantivy says, that the suspicion he lay under for writing a letter concerning the sacramental test, had absolutely ruined him with the late ministry, when indeed he was intimate with none of them, upon any other score than as he is with one or two now in place, that is, as a scandal-bearer and buffoon. His ridiculous pretensions to an envoyship in one of the first courts of Europe, was the thing that made him pass with them at last for a crack-brained fellow, whereas he was only remarkable before for such a vein of lewdness, swearing, and profaneness, as never appeared in any other writing since the world began. To which, if we add his shame-

* This story is incredible: for, were it true, with what countenance could Swift have publicly quarrelled with Steele for libelling Harley in the Tatler, knowing that such a retort was in that author's power, as this passage, if true, would have afforded him? But this aspersion has been more fully noticed in the Life of Swift.

less inconsistency with himself, for which we refer to his works, we shall willingly grant him to be a nonpareil. But no more of this tool, who puts in at present for plenipotentiary."

The reader may consider this as a sufficient sample of the abuse with which Swift was overwhelmed for a tract, which, politically speaking, was one of the least offensive of that angry period, and would, at any other time, have been laughed at by both sides as an inoffensive pleasantry. Indeed, there are few, even of Swift's more celebrated writings, in which the peculiarity of his grave humour is more conspicuous. The affected Gallicisms and blunders, with respect to the most common and notorious points belonging to his English *dramatis personæ*, mark the genius of a people who think nothing belonging to their neighbours worthy of being learned with accuracy.* Writing, too, in the character of a French valet, who was desirous of representing himself as a secretary, and who, in declaring the menial offices in which he was employed, affects to have condescended to them solely from his own obliging temper; Swift has displayed, without much exaggeration, all the whimsical conceit of such a character. There is great ingenuity also, in chusing such a person as the narrator of an imperfect tale. A real secretary must have been able, if willing, to have told much of the secret, and an ordinary English attendant would have known nothing of the matter. But Mons. du Baudrier's supposed situation removed him from real confidence; while the meddling and inquisitive disposition, proper to such a coxcomb, might make him likely enough, both to glean up, and to communicate, such shreds and patches of information, as Swift thought it advisable to detail in the "New Journey to Paris." Swift complains, in his "Journal to Stella," that the propriety and effect of this humorous narrative was, in some degree, injured by a romantic and incredible incident in the conclusion, which, in his hurry, had been left to another hand. The passage seems to be that in which a marquis is introduced begging on the highway, which, though since kept in countenance by Sterne's Chevalier de St. Louis selling pastry, is an incident too highly coloured for the grave and sober figments of the preceding narrative.

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* This indifference to accuracy is not peculiar to persons of the supposed Mons. du Baudrier's rank in life, but pervades the writings even of such Frenchmen as, devoting themselves professionally to literature, have condescended to treat of English affairs. From Froissart to the present day, their works are full of errors, which can only arise from their not esteeming the truth of any importance. Varillus, for example, in his History of Heresy, has (besides producing a King Stephen the *Second*, hitherto a stranger to our annals) made some of the most notable blunders, with respect to times, places, dates, and names, that ever disgraced a book with history in its title-page.

THE

TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

THE original of the following discourse was transmitted to me three days ago from the Hague, to which town it was sent from France; but in the title-page there was no mention of the place where it was printed, only the author's name at length, and the year of our Lord. That the tract is genuine, I believe no person will doubt. You see all along the vanity of that nation, in a mean man giving himself the airs of a secretary, when it appears, by several circumstances, that he was received only as a menial servant. It were to be wished, the author had been one of more importance, and farther trusted in the secrets of his master's negotiation; but, to make amends, he informs us of several particulars, which one of more consequence would not have given himself the trouble about; and the particulars are such, as we at home will perhaps be curious to know; not to mention, that he gives us much light into some things that are of great moment; and, by his not pretending to know more, we cannot doubt the truth of what he relates.

It is plain, he waited at table, carried his master's *valise*, and attended in his bed-chamber; though he takes care to tell us, that Monsieur Prior made many excuses and apologies, because these mean offices appear very inconsistent with the character of secretary, which he would seem to set up for.

I shall make no reflections on this important affair, nor upon the consequences we may expect

from it. To reason upon secrets of state, without knowing all the springs and motions of them, is too common a talent among us, and the foundation of a thousand errors. Here is room enough for speculations; but I advise the reader to let them serve for his own entertainment, without troubling the world with his remarks.

TO

MONSIEUR MONSIEUR ——,

AT

ESTAPLE.*

—o—

SIR,

I DOUBT not but you are curious, as many others are, to know the secret of Monsieur Prior, an English gentleman's late journey from London to Paris. Perhaps, living retired as you do, you may not have heard of this person, though, some years ago, he was very much distinguished at Paris, and in good esteem even with our august monarch. I must let you so far into his character as to tell you, that Monsieur Prior has signalised himself, both as an eminent poet and a man of business; was very much valued by the late King William, who employed him in important affairs, both in England and Holland. He was secretary to the English embassy at the treaty of Ryswick, and afterward to my lords the Counts of Portland and Jersey; and, in the

* A sea-port town in the Boulonnois.—*Swift.*

absence of the latter, managed for some time the affairs of England at our court by himself. Since the reign of Queen Anne, he was employed as commissioner of trade; but the ministry changing soon after Queen Anne's coming to the crown, Monsieur Prior, who was thought too much attached to the *rigides*,* was laid aside, and lived privately at Cambridge,† where he is a professor, till he was recalled by the present ministry.

About two months ago, our king,‡ resolving once more to give peace to Europe, notwithstanding the flourishing condition of his fleets and armies, the good posture of his finances, that his grandson was almost entirely settled in the quiet possession of Spain, and that the affairs of the north were changing every day to his advantage; offered the court of England to send a minister as far as Boulogne, who should be there met by some person from England, to treat the overtures of a peace. Upon the first notice that this was agreed to, the king immediately dispatched Monsieur de Torcy, in whom he very much confides, to Boulogne, where he took lodging in a private house in the Fauxbourg, at one Mr. de Marais, a marchand de soy, who is married to an Englishwoman, that formerly had been a *suivante* to one§ of the fore-mentioned English ambassadors' ladies, over against the Hostellerie de St. Jean. Monsieur stayed six days with much impatience; when, late at evening, on Wednesday, the 14th of

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* Tories.

† A mistake of the author; for Monsieur Prior did not retire to Cambridge, nor is a professor, but a fellow.—*Swift.*

‡ Lewis XIV.

§ Probably the Countess of Jersey, who was a Roman Catholic. In the remarks upon the pamphlet quoted in the introduction, the overtures of peace are said to have been "first made to the Earl of Jersey, by his old acquaintance the Marquis de Torcy."

July (new style), a person, whom we afterward knew to be Monsieur Prior, came directly to the door, and inquired for Monsieur de la Bastide, the name and place, I suppose, having been before concerted. He was immediately shown unto Monsieur Torcy; where, as I am informed, they were shut up for three hours together, without any refreshment, though Monsieur Prior had rid post from Calais that day in a great deal of rain. The next morning I was sent for, in all haste, by Monsieur de Marais, who told me, "That a person of quality, as he suspected, lately come from England, had some occasion for a secretary; and, because he knew I understood the languages, wrote a tolerable hand, had been conversant with persons of quality, and formerly trusted with secrets of importance, had been so kind to recommend me to the said gentleman, to serve him in that quality." I was immediately called up, and presented to Mr. Prior; who accosted me with great civility, and, after some conversation, was pleased to tell me, "I had fully answered the character Monsieur de Marais had given me." From this time, to the day Monsieur Prior left Calais in order to return to England, I may pretend to give you a faithful account of all his motions, and some probable conjectures of his whole negotiation between Boulogne and Versailles.

But perhaps, Sir, you may be farther curious to know the particulars of Monsieur Prior's journey to Boulogne. It is reported, that some time before the peace of Ryswick, King William did dispatch this very gentleman to Paris, upon the same account for which he now came. This possibly might be the motive (beside the known abilities of Monsieur Prior) to send him a second time. The following particulars I heard in discourse between Mademoiselle de Marais and her husband; which being no great

secrets on our side the water, I suppose were told without consequence.

Monsieur Prior, having his instructions from the English court, under pretence of taking a short journey of pleasure, and visiting the Chevalier de H——,* in the province of Suffolk, left his house on Sunday night, the 11th of July, N.S., taking none of his servants with him. Monsieur M——, who had already prepared a bark, with all necessaries, on the coast of Dover, took Monsieur Prior disguised in his chariot. They lay on Monday night, the 12th of July, at the Count de Jersey's house in Kent; arrived in good time the next day at Dover, drove directly to the shore, made the sign by waving their hats, which was answered by the vessel; and the boat was immediately sent to take him in: which he entered, wrapt in his cloak, and soon got aboard. He was six hours at sea, and arrived at Calais about eleven at night; went immediately to the governor, who received him with great respect, where he lay all night; and set out pretty late the next morning, being somewhat incommoded with his voyage; and then took post for Boulogne, as I have before related.

In the first conversation I had the honour to have with Monsieur Prior, he was pleased to talk as if he would have occasion for my service but a very few days; and seemed resolved by his discourse, that, after he had despatched his commission with Monsieur de la Bastide, (for so we shall from henceforward call that minister,) he would return to England. By this I found I should have but little employment in quality of secretary; however, having heard so great a character of him, I was willing to attend him in any capacity he pleased. Four days

* Sir Thomas Hanmer.

we continued at Boulogne, where Monsieur de la Bastide and Monsieur Prior had two long conferences every day from ten to one at noon, and from six till nine in the evening. Monsieur Prior did me the honour to send me some meat and wine constantly from his own table. Upon the third morning, I was ordered to attend early; and observed Monsieur Prior to have a pleasant countenance. He asked me, "What I thought of a journey to England?" and commanded me to be ready at an hour's warning. But, upon the fourth evening, all this was changed; and I was directed to hire the best horse I could find for myself.

We set out early the next day, Sunday the 18th, for Paris, in Monsieur de la Bastide's chaise, whose two attendants and myself made up the equipage; but a small *valise*, which, I suppose, contained Monsieur Prior's instructions, he was pleased to trust to my care, to carry on horseback; which trust I discharged with the utmost faithfulness.

Somewhat above two leagues from Boulogne, at a small village called Neile, the axletree broke, which took us two hours to mend; we baited at Montreuil, and lay that night at Abbeville. But I shall not give you any detail of our journey, which passed without any considerable accident till we arrived within four leagues of Paris; when, about three in the afternoon, two cavaliers, well mounted, and armed with pistols, crossed the road, then turned short, and rode up briskly to the chaise, commanding the coachman to stop. Monsieur de la Bastide's two attendants were immediately up with them; but I, who guessed at the importance of the charge that Monsieur Prior had entrusted me with, though I was in no fear for my own person, thought it most prudent to advance with what speed I could to a small village, about a quarter of a league forward, to await

the event. I soon observed the chaise to come on without any disturbance, and I ventured to meet it; when I found that it was only a frolic of two young cadets of quality, who had been making a debauch at a friend's house hard by, and were returning to Paris: one of them was not unknown to Monsieur de la Bastide. The two cavaliers began to rally me; said, "I knew how to make a retreat;" with some other pleasantries: but Monsieur Prior (who knew the cause) highly commended my discretion. We continued our journey very merrily; and arrived at Paris on Tuesday, the 20th, in the cool of the evening.

At the entrance of the town, our two cavaliers left us; and Monsieur de la Bastide conducted Monsieur Prior to a private lodging in the Ruë St. Louis, which, by all circumstances, I concluded to be prepared for his reception. Here I first had orders to say, that the gentleman to whom I had the honour to belong was called Monsieur Matthews;* I then knew no otherwise. Afterward, at Versailles, I overheard, in conversation with Monsieur de la Bastide, that his real name was Prior.

Monsieur de la Bastide would have had Monsieur Matthews to have gone with him next morning to Versailles, but could not prevail with him to comply; of which I could never be able to learn the reason. Our minister was very importunate; and Monsieur Prior seemed to have no fatigue remaining from his journey: perhaps he might conceive it more suitable to his dignity, that Monsieur de la Bastide should go before, to prepare the king, by giving notice of his

* Hence a song called "Matt's Peace, or the Downfall of Trade."

The news from abroad does a secret reveal,
Which has been confirmed both at Dover and Deal,
That one Master Matthews, once called plain Mat,
Has been doing at Paris the Lord knoweth what, &c.

arrival. However it were, Monsieur de la Bastide made all haste to Versailles, and returned the same night. During his absence, Monsieur Prior never stirred out of his chamber; and, after dinner, did me the honour to send for me up, "that I might bear him company," as he was pleased to express it. I was surprised to hear him wondering at the misery he had observed in our country, in his journey from Calais; at the scarcity and poverty of the inhabitants, "which," he said, "did much exceed even what he had seen in his former journey;" for he owned that he had been in France before. He seemed to value himself very much upon the happiness of his own island, which, as he pretended, had felt no effects like these upon trade or agriculture.

I made bold to return for answer, "That in our nation, we only consulted the magnificence and power of our prince; but that in England, as I was informed, the wealth of the kingdom was so divided among the people, that little or nothing was left to their sovereign; and that it was confidently told, (though hardly believed in France,) that some subjects had palaces more magnificent than Queen Anne herself:* that I hoped, when he went to Versailles, he would allow the grandeur of our potent monarch to exceed, not only that of England, but any other in Europe; by which he would find, that what he called the poverty of our nation, was rather the effect of policy in our court, than any real want or necessity."

Monsieur Prior had no better answer to make me, than, "That he was no stranger to our court, the splendour of our prince, and the maxims by which he governed; but, for his part, he thought those countries were happier, where the productions of it were more equally divided." Such unaccountable

* A sly allusion to the splendour of Blenheim.

notions is the prejudice of education apt to give! In these and the like discourses, we wore away the time till Monsieur de la Bastide's return; who, after an hour's private conference with Monsieur Prior, which I found by their countenances had been warmly pursued on both sides, a chariot and six horses (to my great surprise) were instantly ordered, wherein the two ministers entered, and drove away with all expedition; myself only attending on horseback with my important *valise*.

We got to Versailles on Wednesday the 21st about eleven at night, but instead of entering the town, the coachman drove us a back way into the fields, till we stopped at a certain vineyard, that I afterward understood joined to the gardens of Madame Maintenon's lodgings. Here the two gentlemen alighted: Monsieur Prior, calling to me, bade me search in the *valise* for a small box of writings; after which, the coachman was ordered to attend in that place; and we proceeded on some paces, till we stopped at a little postern, which opened into the vineyard, whereof Monsieur de la Bastide had the key. He opened it very readily, and shut it after them; desiring me to stay till their return.

I waited with some impatience for three hours: the great clock struck two before they came out. The coachman, who, I suppose, had his instructions before, as soon as they were got into the chariot, drove away to a small house at the end of the town, where Monsieur de la Bastide left us to ourselves. I observed Monsieur Prior was very thoughtful; and without entering into any conversation, desired my assistance to put him to bed. Next morning, Thursday, the 22d, I had positive orders not to stir abroad. About ten o'clock, Monsieur de la Bastide came. The house being small, my apartment was divided from Monsieur Prior's by a thin wainscot; so that

I could easily hear what they said, when they raised their voice, as they often did. After some time, I could hear Monsieur de la Bastide say, with great warmth, *Bon Dieu!* &c. "Good God! were ever such demands made to a great monarch, unless you were at the gates of his metropolis? For the love of God, Monsieur Prior, relax something, if your instructions will permit you; else I shall despair of any good success in our negotiation. Is it not enough that our king will abandon his grandson, but he must lend his own arm to pull him out of the throne?* Why did you not open yourself to me at Boulogne? Why are you more inexorable here at Versailles? You have risen in your demands, by seeing Madame Maintenon's desire for a peace! As able as you are to continue the war, consider which is to be most preferred, the good of your country, or the particular advantage of your general; for he will be the only gainer among your subjects." Monsieur Prior, who has a low voice, and had not that occasion for passion, answered so softly, that I could not well understand him; but, upon parting, I heard him say, "If you insist still on these difficulties, my next audience will be that of leave."

Three hours after, Monsieur de la Bastide returned again, with a countenance more composed. He asked Mr. Prior, if he would give him leave to dine with him? Having no attendants, I readily

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* The treaty of Gertruydenberg broke off on account of the restitution of Spain to the House of Austria. Louis XIV. offered, though his sincerity may be doubted, not only to consent that his grandson, the Duke of Anjou, should be deprived of the crown of Spain, but, in case of resistance on the part of the Spanish adherents, he agreed to pay a proportion of the troops which the allies might employ in his abdication. But he refused to engage his own forces upon such a service.

offered my services at table;* which Monsieur Prior was pleased to accept with abundance of apologies. I found they were come to a better understanding. Mr. Prior has a great deal of wit and vivacity; he entertained Monsieur de la Bastide with much pleasantry, notwithstanding their being upon the reserve before me. "That Monsieur," says Mr. Matthews, "if he were *un particulier*, would be the most agreeable person in the world." I imagined they spoke of the king; but, going often in and out, I could not preserve the connection of their discourse. "Did you mind how obligingly he inquired, whether our famous Chevalier Newton was still living? He told me, my good friend poor Despreaux † was dead since I was in France; and asked me after Queen Anne's health." These are some of the particulars I overheard while at dinner: which confirmed my opinion that Monsieur Prior last night had an audience of his majesty.

About ten that evening, Monsieur de la Bastide came to take Monsieur Matthews, to go to the same place where they were at before. I was permitted to

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* By this and some other preceding particulars, we may discover what sort of secretary the author was.—*Swift.*

† Prior was, in sober truth, personally acceptable to Louis XIV. who had seen him frequently at his court. He was also well known to Boileau Despreaux; and, notwithstanding the inimitable burlesque translation which Prior had made of the French poet's ode, *Sur la prise de Namur*, they were upon as friendly terms as the Laureat of Louis could be with the Encomiast of William. In his letter to Boileau upon the victory of Blenheim, Prior thus states their connection:

> I grant old friend, old foe, for such we are,
> Alternate as the chance of peace and war.

And the whole poem throughout, on a subject so unpleasant to French ears, is expressed in terms personally flattering to Boileau. The interest taken by Louis in learning and learned men was one of the most pleasing points in his character.

enter the vineyard, but not the gardens, being left at the gate to wait their return; which was in about two hours' time. The moon shone bright; and by Monsieur Matthews's manner, I thought he appeared somewhat dissatisfied. When he came into his chamber, he threw off his hat in some passion, folded his arms, and walked up and down the room for above an hour, extremely pensive: at length he called to be put to bed; and ordered me to set a candle by his bed-side, and to fetch him some papers out of his *valise* to read.

On Friday, the 23d, in the morning, Monsieur Matthews was so obliging to call me to him; with the assurance, that he was extremely pleased with my discretion and manner of address; as a proof of which satisfaction, he would give me leave to satisfy my curiosity with seeing so fine a place as Versailles; telling me, "he should return next day toward Boulogne; and therefore advised me to go immediately to view the palace: with this caution, (though he did not suppose I needed it,) not to say anything of the occasion that brought me to Versailles."

Monsieur de la Bastide having staid the afternoon with Monsieur Matthews, about eight o'clock they went to the rendezvous. My curiosity had led me in the morning to take a stricter view of the vineyard and gardens. I remained at the gate as before. In an hour and a half's time, Monsieur Matthews, with Monsieur le la Bastide, another gentleman, and a lady, came into the walk. De la Bastide opened the gate, and held it some time in his hand. While Monsieur Matthews was taking his leave of those persons, I heard the lady say, at parting, *Monsieur, songez vous*, &c. "Consider this night on what we have said to you." The gentleman seconded her; saying. *Ouy, ouy, monsieur, songez vous en pour la derniere fois.* "Ay, ay, sir, con-

sider of it for the last time." To which Monsieur Matthews answered briskly, in going out, *Sire, tout ou rien,* &c. "Sir, all or none, as I have had the honour to tell your majesty before." Which puts it beyond dispute what the quality of those persons were, by whom Monsieur Matthews had the honour to be entertained.

On Saturday the 24th, Monsieur Matthews kept close as before; telling me "a post chaise was ordered, to carry him to Calais: and he would do me the grace to take me with him, to keep him company in the journey, for he should leave Monsieur de la Bastide at Versailles." While we were discoursing, that gentleman came in, with an open air, and a smiling countenance. He embraced Monsieur Matthews; and seemed to feel so much joy, that he could not easily conceal it. I left the chamber, and retired to my own; whence I could hear him say, "Courage, Monsieur: no travelling to-day. Madame Maintenon will have me once more conduct you to her." After which I was called, and received orders about dinner, &c. Monsieur de la Bastide told me, "We should set out about midnight." He staid the rest of the day with Monsieur Matthews. About ten o'clock they went forth, but dispensed with my attendance; it was one in the morning before they returned, though the chaise was at the gate soon after eleven. Monsieur Matthews took a morsel of bread, and a large glass of Hermitage wine; after which they embraced with much kindness, and so parted.

Our journey to Calais passed without any accident worth informing you. Mr. Prior, who is of a constitution somewhat tender, was troubled with a rheum, which made speaking uneasy to him: but it was not so at all to me; and therefore I entertained him, as well as I could, chiefly with the praises of

our great monarch, the magnificence of his court, the number of his attendants, the awe and veneration paid him by his generals and ministers, and the immense riches of the kingdom. One afternoon, in a small village between Chaumont and Beauvais, as I was discoursing on this subject, several poor people followed the chaise, to beg our charity: one louder than the rest, a comely person, about fifty, all in rags, but with a mien that showed him to be of a good house, cried out, *Monsieur, pour l'amour de Dieu*, &c. "Sir, for the love of God, give something to the Marquis de Sourdis!" Mr. Prior, half asleep, roused himself up at the name of Marquis, called the poor gentleman to him, and observing something in his behaviour like a man of quality, very generously threw him a pistole. As the coach went on, Monsieur Prior asked me, with much surprise, "Whether I thought it possible that unhappy creature could be *un veritable marquis;* * for, if it were so, surely the miseries of our country must be much greater than even our very enemies could hope or believe?" I made bold to tell him, "That I thought we could not well judge from particulars to generals; and that I was sure there were great numbers of marquises in France, who had ten thousand livres a-year." † I tell you this passage, to let you see, that the wisest men have some prejudices of their country about them. We got to Calais on Wednesday the 28th in the evening; and the next morning (the 29th) I took my leave of Monsieur Prior; who, thanking me in the civillest manner in the world for the service I had done him,

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* A real marquis.

† This seems to be referred to where Swift says in his Journal, 13th September 1711, "The two last pages, which the printer had got somebody to add, are so romantic, they spoil all the rest."

very nobly made me a present of fifty pistoles; and so we parted. He put to sea with a fair wind, and, I suppose, in a few hours landed in England.

This, Sir, is the utmost I am able to inform you about Monsieur Prior's journey and negotiation. Time alone will let us know the events of it, which are yet in the dark. I am, SIR,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,
DU BAUDRIER.

POSTSCRIPT BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THE author of this tract, having left his master on shipboard at Calais, had, it seems, no farther intelligence when he published it: neither am I able to supply it, but what passes in common report; which, being in everybody's mouth, but with no certainty, I think it needless to repeat.

SOME

ADVICE

HUMBLY OFFERED

TO THE MEMBERS

OF THE

OCTOBER CLUB.

IN A LETTER FROM A PERSON OF HONOUR.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1711–12.

THE October Club was a designation assumed by a society of about two hundred members of parliament, chiefly landed men and warm Tories. They met at the Bell Tavern in King Street, Westminster, and consulted chiefly upon the means of compelling ministers to make, what has been called in our days, *a clean sweep* of the Whigs from all places of post and power, and to bring some members of the late administration to public trial. The principal members of the October Club were—

John Aislabie,
Francis Annesley,
William Bromley,
Robert Byerley,
Henry Campion,
Charles Cæsar,
Sir Robert Davers,
Charles Eversfield,
Ralph Freeman,
Sir Thomas Hanmer,
John Hungerford,
Sir Justinian Isham,
George Lockhart,
Sir Roger Mortyn,
Sir John Packington,
Francis Scobel,
William Shippen,
Sir Thomas Thorold,
John Trevannion,
Sir William Whitelock,
Sir William Windham.

The ministers beheld with great anxiety an association formed among those, who, on principle, ought to have supported them most warmly, for the purpose of thwarting, or, at least, dictating and precipitating their measures. Swift was accordingly employed to reclaim this seceding junto by the following Letter.

It was finished on the 14th January 1711–12, and Swift had the precaution to have it copied over by Ford, that he might not be discovered as the author. It did not at first produce the impression intended; for Swift writes to Stella on the 28th, "The little twopenny letter of 'Advice to the October Club' does not sell: I know the reason; for it is finely written, I assure you; and, like a true author, I grow fond of it, because it does not sell: you know that it is usual to writers to condemn the judgment of the world; if I had hinted it to be mine, everybody would have bought it, but it is a great secret." The public, however, found out an author for it; for the "Person of Honour" in the title-page was construed to be Lord Harcourt. On 1st February, Swift's Journal informs us, "The pamphlet of 'Advice to the October Club' begins now to sell; but I believe its fame will hardly reach Ireland; 'tis finely written, I assure you."

The letter is indeed finely written, and well calculated to answer the purpose of the author. The secrets of state, which could not be spoken out, are decently insinuated: he hints the queen's affection for the Duchess of Somerset, by means of which, many belonging to the routed party found support or protection; threatens them with the increasing power of the Whigs, the common enemy to them and the ministry; and cajoles them with the prospect of a gradual dismissal of the obnoxious office-holders, when their places should be filled up with the true friends of church and queen. In fine, the tract threw upon the state of parties and politics a sort of dubious twilight, particularly calculated for exercising the intellects of country gentlemen over their October ale; for, although these worthy members of the community cannot exist without news, the politics which are most clear and intelligible by no means afford them the greatest satisfaction.

THE

PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

—o—

ABOUT the year, when her late majesty, of blessed memory, thought proper to change her ministry, and brought in Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, Sir Simon Harcourt, and some others; the first of these being made an earl and lord-treasurer, he was soon after blamed by the friends for not making a general sweep of all the Whigs, as the latter did of their adversaries upon her majesty's death, when they came into power. At that time a great number of parliament men, amounting to above two hundred, grew so warm upon the slowness of the treasurer in this part, that they formed themselves into a body under the name of the October Club, and had many meetings to consult upon some methods that might spur on those in power, so that they might make a quicker dispatch in removing all of the Whig leaven from the employments they still possessed. To prevent the ill consequences of this discontent among so many worthy members, the rest of the ministry joined with the treasurer, partly to pacify, and partly divide those, who were in greater haste than moderate men thought convenient. It was well known, that the supposed author met a considerable number of this club in a public house, where he convinced them, very plainly, of the treasurer's sincerity, with many of those very reasons which are urged in the following Discourse, beside some others which were not so proper to appear at that time in print.

The treasurer alleged, in his defence, that such a treatment would not consist with prudence, because there were many employments to be bestowed, which required skill and practice; that several gentlemen, who possessed them, had been long versed, very loyal to her majesty, had never been violent party men, and were ready to fall into all honest measures for the service of their queen and country. But, however, as offices became vacant, he would humbly recommend to her majesty such gentlemen, whose principles, with regard both to church and state, his friends would approve of, and he would be ready to accept their recommendations. Thus the earl proceeded in procuring employments for those who deserved them by their honesty, and abilities to execute them; which, I confess, to have been a singularity not very likely to be imitated. However, the gentlemen of this club still continued uneasy that no quicker progress was made in removals, until those who were least violent began to soften a little, or, by dividing them, the whole affair dropped. During this difficulty, we have been assured, that the following Discourse was very seasonably published with great success; showing the difficulties that the Earl of Oxford lay under, and his real desire, that all persons in employment should be true loyal churchmen, zealous for her majesty's honour and safety, as well as for the succession in the House of Hanover, if the queen should happen to die without issue. This Discourse having been published about the year 1711, and many of the facts forgotten, would not have been generally understood without some explanation, which we have now endeavoured to give, because it seems a point of history too material to be lost. We owe this piece of intelligence to an intimate of the supposed author.

SOME ADVICE, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the first institution of your society, I have always thought you capable of the greatest things. Such a number of persons, members of parliament, true lovers of our constitution in church and state, meeting at certain times, and mixing business and conversation together, without the forms and constraint necessary to be observed in public assemblies, must very much improve each other's understanding, correct and fix your judgment, and prepare yourselves against any designs of the opposite party. Upon the opening of this session an incident has happened, to provide against the consequences whereof will require your utmost vigilance and application. All this last summer, the enemy was working underground, and laying their train; they gradually became more frequent and bold in their pamphlets and papers, while those on our side were dropped, as if we had no farther occasion for them. Some time before, an opportunity fell into their hands, which they have cultivated ever since; and

thereby have endeavoured, in some sort, to turn those arts against us, which had been so effectually employed to their ruin: a plain demonstration of their superior skill at intrigue; to make a stratagem succeed a second time, and this even against those who first tried it upon them.* I know not whether this opportunity I have mentioned could have been prevented by any care, without straining a very tender point; which those chiefly concerned avoided by all means, because it might seem a counterpart of what they had so much condemned in their predecessors; although it is certain the two cases were widely different; and if policy had once got the better of good nature, all had been safe, for there was no danger in view; but the consequences of this were foreseen from the beginning; and those who kept the watch had early warning of it. It would have been a masterpiece of prudence, in this case, to have made a friend of an enemy. But whether that were possible to be compassed, or whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to inquire. All accommodation was rendered desperate, by an unlucky proceeding some months ago at Windsor,† which was a declaration of war, too frank and generous for that situation of affairs; and I am told was not approved of by a certain great mini-

* He insinuates the queen's favour for the Duchess of Somerset, groom of the stole; by means of whose influence the Whigs hoped to undermine the Tory administration, as that of Lord Godolphin had been destroyed by the intrigues of Mrs. Masham. The only mode of parrying the blow seemed to be the dismissal of the Duke and Duchess of Somerset from their posts near the queen's person. But, in insisting upon this, without the queen's full and voluntary concurrence, the ministers might seem to dictate to her the choice of her personal servants, which they had charged as peculiar insolence in the late ministry. See the *Journal* for December 1711.

† An open rupture between Mrs. Masham and the duchess.

ster.* It was obvious to suppose, that in a particular, where the honour and interest of a husband were so closely united with those of a wife, he might be sure of her utmost endeavours for his protection, although she neither loved nor esteemed him. The danger of losing power, favour, profit, and shelter from domestic tyranny, were strong incitements to stir up a working brain, early practised in all the arts of intriguing. Neither is it safe to count upon the weakness of any man's understanding, who is thoroughly possessed with the spirit of revenge, to sharpen his invention: nothing else is required beside obsequiousness and assiduity; which, as they are often the talents of those who have no better, so they are apt to make impressions upon the best and greatest minds.

It was no small advantage to the designing party, that, since the adventure at Windsor, the person on whom we so much depend† was long absent by sickness; which hindered him from pursuing those measures, that ministers are in prudence forced to take, to defend their country and themselves against an irritated faction. The negotiators on the other side improved this favourable conjuncture to the utmost; and, by an unparalleled boldness, accompanied with many falsehoods, persuaded certain lords, (who were already in the same principle, but were afraid of making a wrong step, lest it should lead them out of their coaches into the dirt,) that voting in appearance against the court would be the safest course to avoid the danger they most apprehended, which was that of losing their pensions; and their opinions, when produced, by seemingly contradicting their interest, have an appearance of virtue into the bargain. This, with some arguments of more im-

* The lord-treasurer.

† The lord-treasurer.

mediate power, went far in producing that strange unexpected turn we have so lately seen, and from which our adversaries reckoned upon such wonderful effects; and some of them, particularly my lord chief justice,* began to act as if all were already in their power.

But although the more immediate causes of this desertion were what I have above related, yet I am apt to think it would hardly have been attempted, or at least not have succeeded, but for a prevailing opinion, that the church party and the ministers had different views, or at least were not so firmly united as they ought to have been. It was commonly said, and I suppose not without some ground of truth, that many gentlemen of your club were discontented to find so little done; that they thought it looked as if the people were not in earnest; that they expected to see a thorough change with respect to employments; and although every man could not be provided for, yet, when all places were filled with persons of good principles, there would be fewer complaints, and less danger from the other party; that this change was hoped for all last summer, and even to the opening of the session, yet nothing done. On the other hand, it was urged by some, in favour of the ministry, that it was impossible to find employments for one pretender in twenty; and, therefore, in gratifying one, nineteen would be disobliged; but while all had leave to hope, they would

* Lord Chief Justice Parker, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield, in the beginning of December 1711, when there was some prospect of a change of ministry, sent for Morphew, the publisher of the "Conduct of the Allies," threatened him, demanded the name of the author, and bound him over to appear next sessions. "He would not," says Swift, "have the impudence to do this, if he did not foresee what was coming at court."—*Journal*, 13th December 1711.

all endeavour to deserve: but this again was esteemed a very shallow policy, which was too easily seen through, must soon come to an end, and would cause a general discontent, with twenty other objections to which it was liable: and, indeed, considering the short life of ministers in our climate, it was, with some reason, thought a little hard, that those for whom any employment was intended, should, by such a delay, be probably deprived of half their benefit; not to mention, that a ministry is best confirmed, when all inferior officers are in its interest.

I have set this cause of complaint in the strongest light, although my design is to endeavour that it should have no manner of weight with you, as I am confident our adversaries counted upon, and do still expect to find mighty advantages by it.

But it is necessary to say something to this objection, which, in all appearance, lies so hard upon the present ministry. What shall I offer upon so tender a point? How shall I convey an answer that none will apprehend, except those for whom I intend it? I have often pitied the condition of great ministers, upon several accounts; but never so much upon any, as when their duty obliges them to bear the blame and envy of actions, for which they will not be answerable in the next world, though they dare not convince the present till it is too late. This letter is sent you, gentlemen, from no mean hand, nor from a person uninformed, though, for the rest, as little concerned in point of interest for any change of ministry, as most others of his fellow-subjects. I may, therefore, assume so much to myself, as to desire you will depend upon it, that a short time will make manifest, how little the defect you complain of ought to lie at that door, where your enemies would be glad to see you place it. The

wisest man, who is not very near the spring of affairs, but views them only in their issues and events, will be apt to fix applauses and reproaches in the wrong place; which is the true cause of a weakness, that I never yet knew great ministers without; I mean, their being deaf to all advice: for, if a person of the best understanding offers his opinion in a point where he is not master of all the circumstances, (which, perhaps, are not to be told,) 'tis a hundred to one but he runs into an absurdity: whence it is, that ministers falsely conclude themselves to be equally wiser than others in general things, where the common reason of mankind ought to be the judge, and is probably less biassed than theirs. I have known a great man of excellent parts blindly pursue a point of no importance, against the advice of every friend he had, till it ended in his ruin.* I have seen great abilities rendered utterly useless, by unaccountable and unnecessary delay, and by difficulty of access, by which a thousand opportunities are suffered to escape. I have observed the strongest shoulders sink under too great a load of business, for want of dividing a due proportion among others.† These, and more that might be named, are very obvious failings, which every rational man may be allowed to discern, as well as lament; and wherein the wisest minister may receive advice from others of inferior understanding. But in those actions where we are not thoroughly informed of all the motives and circumstances, it is hardly possible that our judgment

* Lord Godolphin, who suffered himself to be misled by his resentment in the affair of Sacheverel.

† These two errors, the love of procrastination, and a desire to do more than was possible with his own hand, belonged to Harley. The one, indeed, necessarily grew out of the other; since he that undertakes too heavy a task becomes naturally reluctant to commence his hopeless labours.

should not be mistaken. I have often been one of the company, where we have all blamed a measure taken, which has afterward proved the only one that could possibly have succeeded. Nay, I have known those very men, who have formerly been in the secret of affairs, when a new set of people hath come in, offering their refinements and conjectures in a very plausible manner upon what was passing, and widely err in all they advanced.

Whatever occasions may have been given for complaints, that enough has not been done, those complaints should not be carried so far, as to make us forget what hath been done; which, at first, was a great deal more than we hoped, or thought practicable; and you may be assured, that so much courage and address were not employed in the beginning of so great a work, without a resolution of carrying it through, as fast as opportunities would offer. Any of the most sanguine gentlemen in your club would gladly have compounded, two years ago, to have been assured of seeing affairs in the present situation: it is principally to the abilities of one great person, that you, gentlemen, owe the happiness of meeting together, to cultivate the good principles, and form yourselves into a body for defending your country, against a restless and dangerous faction. It is to the same we all owe that mighty change in the most important posts of the kingdom; that we see the sacred person of our prince encompassed by those whom we ourselves would have chosen, if it had been left to our power: and if everything besides that you could wish has not been hitherto done, you will be but just to impute it to some powerful, though unknown impediments, wherein the ministry is more to be lamented than blamed. But there is good reason to hope, from the vigorous proceedings of the court, that these impedi-

ments will, in a short time, effectually be removed: and one great motive to hasten the removal of them will doubtless be, the reflection upon those dangerous consequences, which had like to have ensued upon not removing them before. Besides, after so plain and formidable a conviction, that mild and moderate methods meet with no other reception or return, than to serve as opportunities to the insatiable malice of an enemy; power will awake to vindicate itself, and disarm its opposers, at least of all offensive weapons.

Consider, if you please, how hard beset the present ministry has been on every side; by the impossibility of carrying on the war any longer, without taking the most desperate courses; or of recovering Spain from the house of Bourbon, although we could continue it many years longer: by the clamours of a faction against any peace without that condition, which the most knowing among themselves allowed to be impracticable: by the secret cabals of foreign ministers, who endeavoured to inflame our people, and spirited up a sinking faction to blast our endeavours for peace, with those popular reproaches of France and the Pretender; not to mention the danger they have been in from private insinuations, of such a nature as it was almost impossible to fence against. These clouds now begin to blow over, and those who are at the helm will have leisure to look about them, and complete what yet remains to be done.

That confederate body, which now makes up the adverse party, consists of a union so monstrous and unnatural, that in a little time it must of necessity fall to pieces. The dissenters, with reason, think themselves betrayed and sold by their brethren. What they have been told, that the present bill against occasional conformity was to prevent a

greater evil, is an excuse too gross to pass; and if any other profound refinement were meant, it is now come to nothing. The remaining sections of the party have no other tie but that of an inveterate hatred and rancour against those in power, without agreeing in any other common interest, nor cemented by principle, or personal friendship; I speak particularly of their leaders; and although I know that court enmities are as inconstant as its friendships, yet from the difference of temper and principle, as well as the scars remaining of former animosities, I am persuaded their league will not be of long continuance: I know several of them, who will never pardon those with whom they are now in confederacy; and when once they see the present ministry thoroughly fixed, they will grow weary of hunting upon a cold scent, or playing a desperate game, and crumble away.

On the other side, while the malice of that party continues in vigour, while they yet feel the bruises of their fall, which pain them afresh since their late disappointment, they will leave no arts untried to recover themselves; and it behoves all, who have any regard for the safety of the queen or her kingdom, to join unanimously against an adversary, who will return full fraught with vengeance, upon the first opportunity that shall offer: and this perhaps is more to be regarded, because that party seem yet to have a reserve of hope in the same quarter, whence their last reinforcement came. Neither can anything cultivate this hope of theirs so much as a disagreement among ourselves, founded upon a jealousy of the ministry; who, I think, need no better a testimony of their good intentions, than the incessant rage of the party-leaders against them.

There is one fault, which both sides are apt to charge upon themselves, and very generously com-

mend their adversaries for the contrary virtue. The Tories acknowledge that the Whigs outdid them in rewarding their friends, and adhering to each other; the Whigs allow the same to the Tories. I am apt to think, that the former may a little excel the latter in this point; for, doubtless, the Tories are less vindictive of the two; and whoever is remiss in punishing, will probably be so in rewarding: although, at the same time, I well remember the clamours often raised during the reign of that party against the leaders, by those who thought their merits were not rewarded; and they had reason on their side, because it is no doubt a misfortune to forfeit honour and conscience for nothing: but surely the case is very different at this time, when, whoever adheres to the administration, does service to God, his prince, and his country, as well as contributes to his own private interest and safety.

But if the Whig leaders were more grateful in rewarding their friends, it must be avowed likewise, that the bulk of them were in general more zealous for the service of their party, even when abstracted from any private advantage, as might be observed in a thousand instances; for which I would likewise commend them, if it were not unnatural for mankind to be more violent in an ill cause than a good one.

The perpetual discord of factions, with several changes of late years, in the very nature of our government, have controlled many maxims among us. The court and country party, which used to be the old division, seems now to be ceased, or suspended, for better times, and worse princes. The queen and ministry are at this time fully in the true interest of the kingdom; and therefore the court and country are of a side; and the Whigs, who originally were of the latter, are now of neither, but an independent faction, nursed up by the necessities,

or mistakes, of a late good, although unexperienced prince. Court and country ought therefore to join their forces against these common enemies, until they are entirely dispersed and disabled. It is enough to arm ourselves against them, when we consider that the greatest misfortunes which can befal the nation are what would most answer their interest and their wishes; a perpetual war increases their money, and breaks and beggars their landed enemies. The ruin of the church would please the dissenters, deists, and socinians, whereof the body of their party consists. A commonwealth, or a protector, would gratify the republican principles of some, and the ambition of others among them.

Hence I would infer, that no discontents of an inferior nature, such I mean as I have already mentioned, should be carried so far as to give any ill impression of the present ministry. If all things have not been hitherto done as you, gentlemen, could reasonably wish, it can be imputed only to the secret instruments of that faction. The truth of this has appeared from some late incidents, more visibly than formerly. Neither do I believe that any one will now make a doubt, whether a certain person * be in earnest, after the united and avowed endeavours of a whole party, to strike directly at his head.

When it happens by some private cross intrigues, that a great man has not that power which is thought due to his station, he will however probably desire the reputation of it, without which he neither can preserve the dignity, nor hardly go through the common business of his place; yet is it that reputation to which he owes all the envy and hatred of others, as well as his own disquiets. Meantime, his expecting friends impute all their disappointments to

* The lord-treasurer.

some deep design, or to his defect of good will; and his enemies are sure to cry up his excess of power, especially in those points where they are confident it is most shortened. A minister, in this difficult case, is sometimes forced to preserve his credit, by forbearing what is in his power, for fear of discovering how far the limits extend of what is not; or, perhaps, for fear of showing an inclination contrary to that of his master. Yet all this, while he lies under the reproach of delay, unsteadiness, or want of sincerity. So that there are many inconveniences and dangers, either in discovering or concealing the want of power. Neither is it hard to conceive, that ministers may happen to suffer for the sins of their predecessors, who, by their great abuses and monopolies of power and favour, have taught princes to be more thrifty for the future in the distribution of both. And as in common life, whoever has been long confined is very fond of his liberty, and will not easily endure the very appearance of restraint, even from those who have been the instruments of setting him free; so it is with the recovery of power, which is usually attended with an undistinguished jealousy, lest it should be again invaded.* In such a juncture, I cannot discover why a wise and honest man should venture to place himself at the head of affairs, upon any other regard than the safety of his country, and the advice of Socrates, to prevent an ill man from coming in.

Upon the whole, I do not see any one ground of suspicion or dislike, which you, gentlemen, or others

* That Queen Anne had learned the lesson taught her by Harley, of acting for herself, much too well for the convenience of her ministers, is obvious from her conduct in cherishing at once two favourites of such inconsistent principles as the Duchess of Somerset and Mrs. Masham. Swift repeatedly complains of her exercise of her free will in the Journal to Stella.

who wish well to their country, may have entertained about persons or proceedings, but what may probably be misapprehended, even by those who think they have the best information. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther, by adding, that, although it may not be prudent to speak out upon this occasion; yet whoever will reason impartially upon the whole state of affairs, must entirely acquit the ministry of that delay and neutrality, which have been laid to their charge. Or, suppose some small part of this accusation were true, (which I positively know to be otherwise, whereof the world will soon be convinced,) yet the consequences of any resentment at this time must either be none at all, or the most fatal that can be imagined; for, if the present ministry be made so uneasy, that a change be thought necessary, things will return of course into the old hands of those, whose little fingers will be found heavier than their predecessors' loins. The Whig faction is so dexterous at corrupting, and the people so susceptible of it, that you cannot be ignorant how easy it will be, after such a turn of affairs, upon a new election, to procure a majority against you. They will resume their power, with a spirit like that of Marius or Sylla, or the last triumvirate; and those ministers who have been most censured for too much hesitation will fall the first sacrifices to their vengeance; but these are the smallest mischiefs to be apprehended from such returning exiles. What security can a prince hope for his person, or his crown, or even for the monarchy itself? He must expect to see his best friends brought to the scaffold, for asserting his rights; to see his prerogative trampled on, and his treasure applied to feed the avarice of those who make themselves his keepers; to hear himself treated with insolence and contempt; to have his

family purged at pleasure by their humour and malice; and to retain even the name and shadow of a king, no longer than his ephori shall think fit.

These are the inevitable consequences of such a change of affairs, as that envenomed party is now projecting; which will best be prevented by your firmly adhering to the present ministry, until this domestic enemy is out of all possibility of making head any more.

SOME

REASONS

TO PROVE,

THAT NO ONE IS OBLIGED, BY HIS PRINCIPLES AS A WHIG,
TO OPPOSE THE QUEEN:

IN A LETTER TO A WHIG LORD.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,

A SUPPOSED LETTER
FROM THE PRETENDER TO ANOTHER WHIG LORD.

BOTH FIRST PRINTED IN 1712.

SWIFT mentions this Letter in his Journal to Stella, 17th June 1712. "Read the Letter to a Whig Lord." Mr. Nichols, from a MS. note of Charles Ford, the intimate friend of Swift, fills up the name of Lord Ashburnham, as the nobleman to whom it is addressed. He married Lady Mary Butler, daughter of the Duke of Ormond, who died soon afterwards. When Swift visited the duke after his loss, he "talked something of Lord Ashburnham, that he was afraid the Whigs would get him again;" from which we must infer, that either the arguments of the Letter-writer, or his connection with the house of Ormond, had brought him over to the court interest. See Journal, 5th January 1712–13. The fear seems to have been ill-founded; for, in 1713, Lord Ashburnham was made deputy-governor of the Cinque Ports; and, shortly after, colonel and captain of the first troop of guards, in room of the Earl of Portland, who was ordered to sell that post for £10,000.

SOME REASONS, &c.

My Lord,

THE dispute between your lordship and me has, I think, no manner of relation to what, in the common style of these times, are called principles; wherein both parties seem well enough to agree, if we will but allow their professions. I can truly affirm, that none of the reasonable sober Whigs I have conversed with did ever avow any opinion concerning religion or government, which I was not willing to subscribe; so that, according to my judgment, those terms of distinction ought to be dropped, and others introduced in their stead, to denominate men, as they are inclined to peace or war, to the last or the present ministry: for whoever thoroughly considers the matter, will find these to be the only differences that divide the nation at present. I am apt to think your lordship will readily allow this, if you were not aware of the consequence I intend to draw: for it is plain, that the making peace and war, as well as the choice of ministers, is wholly in the crown; and therefore the dispute at present lies altogether between those

ıo would support and those who would violate
e royal prerogative. This decision may seem,
rhaps, too sudden and severe; but I do not
e how it can be contested. Give me leave to
k your lordship, Whether you are not resolved
oppose the present ministry to the utmost?
nd whether it was not chiefly with this de-
gn, that, upon the opening of the present session,
ıu gave your vote against any peace till Spain and
e West Indies were recovered from the Bourbon
mily?* I am confident your lordship then be-
ved, what several of your house and party have
knowledged, that the recovery of Spain was grown
ıpracticable, by several incidents, as well as by our
ter inability to continue the war upon the former
ot. But you reasoned right, that such a vote, in
ch a juncture, was the present way of ruining the
esent ministry. For, as her majesty would cer-
inly lay much weight upon a vote of either house,
it was judged that her ministers would hardly
nture to act directly against it; the natural conse-
ıence of which must be a dissolution of the Parlia-
ent, and a return of all your friends into a full
ıssession of power. This advantage the Lords
ve over the Commons, by being a fixed body of
en, where a majority is not to be obtained, but
time and mortality, or new creations, or other
ethods which I will suppose the present age too
rtuous to admit. Several noble lords, who joined
th you in that vote, were but little inclined to dis-
ılige the court, because it suited ill with their

* The address voted by the House of Lords, 7th December
11, concluding with representing their humble opinion and
vice, "That no peace can be safe or honourable to Great
itain, or Europe, if Spain and the West Indies are to be allotted
any part of the house of Bourbon."

circumstances: but the poor gentlemen were told that it was the safest part they could act; for it was boldly alleged, that the queen herself was at the bottom of this affair; and one of your neighbours,* whom the dread of losing a great employment often puts into agonies, was growing fast into a very good courtier, began to cultivate the chief minister, and often expressed his approbation of present proceedings, till that unfortunate day of trial came, when the mighty hopes of a change revived his constancy, and encouraged him to adhere to his old friends. But the event, as your lordship saw, was directly contrary to what your great undertaker had flattered you with. The queen was so far from approving what you had done, that, to show she was in earnest, and to remove all future apprehensions from that quarter, she took a resolute necessary step,† which is like to make her easy for the rest of her reign; and which, I am confident, your lordship would not have been one of those to have put her upon, if you had not been most shamefully misinformed. After this your party had nothing to do but sit down and murmur at so extraordinary an exertion of the prerogative, and quarrel at a necessity, which their own violence, inflamed by the treachery of others, had created. Now, my lord, if an action so indisputably in her majesty's power requires any excuse, we have a very good one at hand. We alleged, that the majority you hardly acquired with so much art and management, partly made up from a certain transitory bench, and partly of those whose nobility began with themselves, was wholly formed during the long power of your friends; so that it became necessary to turn the balance, by new creations; wherein, however, great care was

* Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset, master of the horse.
† Alluding to the twelve new lords.

taken to increase the peerage as little as possible,* and to make a choice against which no objection could be raised, with relation to birth or fortune, or other qualifications requisite for so high an honour.

There is no man hath a greater veneration than I for that noble part of our legislature, whereof your lordship is a member; and I will venture to assert, that, supposing it possible for corruptions to go far in either assembly, yours is less liable to them than a House of Commons. A standing senate of persons nobly born, of great patrimonial estates, and of pious learned prelates, is not easily perverted from intending the true interest of their prince and country; whereas we have found by experience, that a corrupt ministry, at the head of a monied faction, is able to procure a majority of whom they please, to represent the people. But then, my lord, on the other side, if it has been so contrived, by time and management, that the majority of a standing senate is made up of those who wilfully or otherwise mistake the public good; the cure, by common remedies, is as slow as the disease: whereas a good prince, in the hearts of his people, and at the head of a ministry who leaves them to their own free choice, cannot miss a good assembly of Commons. Now, my lord, we do assert, that this majority of yours has been the workmanship of about twenty years; during which time, considering the choice of persons in the several creations; considering the many arts used in making proselytes among the young nobility who have since grown up; and the wise methods to prevent their being tainted by university principles;

* This promotion was so ordered, that a third part were of those on whom, or their posterity, the peerage would naturally devolve; and the rest were such, whose merit, birth, and fortune, could admit of no exception.—*Swift.*

lastly, considering the age of those who fill up a certain bench,* and with what views their successions have been supplied; I am surprised to find your majority so bare and weak, that it is not possible for you to keep it much longer, unless old men be immortal; neither, perhaps, would there be any necessity to wait so long, if certain methods were put in practice, which your friends have often tried with success. Your lordship plainly sees by the event, that neither threats nor promises are made use of, where it is pretty well agreed that they would not be ineffectual. Voting against the court, and indeed against the kingdom, in the most important cases, has not been followed by the loss of places or pensions, unless in very few particulars, where the circumstances have been so extremely aggravating, that to have been passive would have argued the lowest weakness or fear. To instance only in the Duke of Marlborough, who, against the wholesome advice of those who consulted his true interest much better than his flatterers, would needs put all upon that desperate issue, of destroying the present ministry, or falling himself.

I believe, my lord, you are now fully convinced, that the queen is altogether averse from the thoughts of ever employing your party in her councils or her court. You see a prodigious majority in the House of Commons of the same sentiments; and the only quarrel against the treasurer is an opinion of more mildness toward your friends than it is thought they deserve;† neither can you hope for better success in the next election, while her majesty con-

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* The bench of bishops, who, as often remarked, chiefly consisted of prelates of the low-church principles.

† He alludes to the opinions of the high Tories of the October Club.

tinues her present servants, although the bulk of the people were better disposed to you than it is manifest they are. With all the advantages I lately mentioned, which a House of Lords has over the Commons, it is agreed that the pulse of the nation is much better felt by the latter than the former, because those represent the whole people; but your lordships (whatever some may pretend) do represent only your own persons. Now, it has been the old complaint of your party, that the body of country gentlemen always leaned too much (since the Revolution) to the Tory side: and as your numbers were much lessened about two years ago, by a very unpopular * quarrel, wherein the church thought itself deeply concerned; so you daily diminish, by your zeal against peace, which the landed men, half ruined by the war, do so extremely want and desire.

It is probable that some persons may, upon occasion, have endeavoured to bring you over to the present measures. If so, I desire to know whether such persons required of you to change any principles, relating to government, either in church or state, in which you have been educated? or did you ever hear that such a thing was offered to any other of your party? I am sure, neither can be affirmed; and then it is plain, that principles are not concerned in the dispute. The two chief, or indeed the only, topics of quarrel are, whether the queen shall choose her own servants? and whether she shall keep her prerogative of making peace? And I believe there is no Whig in England that will openly deny her power in either. As to the latter, which is the more avowed, her majesty has promised, that the treaty shall be laid before her

* The trial of Sacheverel.

Parliament; after which, if it be made without their approbation, and proves to be against the interest of the kingdom, the ministers must answer for it at their extremest peril. What is there in all this that can possibly affect your principles as a Whig? or rather, my lord, are you not, by all sorts of principles lawful to own, obliged to acquiesce and submit to her majesty upon this article? But I suppose, my lord, you will not make a difficulty of confessing the true genuine cause of animosity to be, that those who are out of place would fain be in; and that the bulk of your party are the dupes of half a dozen, who are impatient at their loss of power. It is true, they would fain infuse into your lordship such strange opinions of the present ministry and their intentions, as none of themselves at all believe. Has your lordship observed the least step made toward giving any suspicion of a design to alter the succession, to introduce arbitrary power, or to hurt the toleration, unless you will reckon the last to have been damaged by the bill lately obtained against occasional conformity, which was your own act and deed,* by a strain of such profound policy, and the contrivance of so profound a politician, that I cannot unravel it to the bottom.

Pray, my lord, give yourself leave to consider whence this indefatigable zeal is derived, that makes the heads of your party send you a hundred messages, accost you in all places, and remove heaven and earth to procure your vote upon a pinch, whenever they think it lies in their way to distress the queen and ministry. Those, who have already

* By a sort of composition between the Whig party, and their new proselyte the Earl of Nottingham, they joined him, 15th December 1711, in carrying through the bill against occasional conformity, which had lain dormant for seven years. This gave great offence to the dissenters.

rendered themselves desperate, have no other resource than in an utter change. But this is by no means your lordship's case. While others were at the head of affairs, you served the queen with no more share in them than what belonged to you as a peer; although, perhaps, you were inclined to their persons or proceedings, more than to those of the present set. Those who are now in power cannot justly blame you for doing so; neither can your friends out of place reproach you, if you go on to serve her majesty and make her easy in her government, unless they can prove that unlawful or unreasonable things are demanded of you. I cannot see how your conscience or honour are here concerned; or why people who have cast off all hope should desire you to embark with them against your prince, whom you have never directly offended. It is just as if a man who had committed a murder, and was flying his country, should desire all his friends and acquaintance to bear him company in his flight and banishment. Neither do I see how this will any way answer your interest; for, though it should possibly happen that your friends would be again taken into power, your lordship cannot expect they will admit you to the head of affairs, or even in the secret. Everything of consequence is already bespoke. I can tell you who is to be treasurer, who chamberlain, and who to be secretaries. These offices, and many others, have been some time fixed; and all your lordship can hope for, is only the lieutenancy of a county, or some other honorary employment, or an addition to your title; or, if you were poor, perhaps a pension. And is not the way to any of these as fully open at present? and will you declare you cannot serve your queen unless you choose her ministry? Is this forsaking your principles? But

that phrase has dropped of late, and they call it forsaking your friends. To serve your queen and country, while any but they are at the helm, is to forsake your friends. This is a new party figure of speech, which I cannot comprehend. I grant, my lord, that this way of reasoning is very just, while it extends no farther than to the several members of their juntos and cabals; and I could point out half a score persons, for each of whom I should have the utmost contempt if I saw them making any overtures to be received into trust. Wise men will never be persuaded, that such violent turns can proceed from virtue or conviction; and I believe you and your friends do in your own thoughts most heartily despise that ignominious example of apostacy,* whom you outwardly so much caress. But you, my lord, who have shared no farther in the favour and confidence of your leaders than barely to be listed of the party, cannot honourably refuse serving her majesty, and contributing what is in your power to make her government easy, though her weighty affairs be not trusted to the hands where you would be glad to see them. One advantage your lordship may count upon by acting with the present ministry is, that you shall not undergo a state inquisition into your principles; but may believe as you please in those points of government, wherein so many writers perplex the world with their explanation. Provided you heartily renounce the Pretender, you may suppose what you please of his birth; and if you allow her majesty's undoubted right, you may call it hereditary or parliamentary, as you think fit.

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* The Earl of Nottingham, who, being indulged by the Whigs in his high-church prejudices against Non-conformists, gave up to them in return his Tory principles in civil matters.

The ministers will second your utmost zeal for securing the indulgence to Protestant dissenters. They abhor arbitrary power as much as you. In short, there is no opinion properly belonging to you as a Whig, wherein you may not still continue, and yet deserve the favour and countenance of the court; provided you offer nothing in violation of the royal prerogative, nor take the advantage in critical junctures to bring difficulties upon the administration, with no other view but that of putting the queen under the necessity of changing it. But your own party, my lord, whenever they return into play, will not receive you upon such easy terms, although they will have much more need of your assistance; they will vary their political catechism as often as they please; and you must answer directly to every article, as it serves the present turn. This is a truth too visible for you to call in doubt. How unanimous are you to a man in every point, whether of moment or no! Whereas, upon our side, many stragglers have appeared in all divisions, even among those who believed the consequence of their dissent would be the worst we could fear; for which the courage, integrity, and moderation of those at the helm cannot be sufficiently admired; though I question whether, in good politics, the last ought always to be imitated.

If your lordship will please to consider the behaviour of the Tories during the long period of this reign while their adversaries were in power, you will find it very different from that of your party at present. We opposed the grant to the Duke of Marlborough till he had done something to deserve so great a reward; and then it was granted, *nemine contradicente.* We opposed repealing the test; which would level the church established with every

snivelling sect in the nation. We opposed the bill of general naturalization, by which we were in danger to be overrun by schismatics and beggars. The scheme of breaking into the statutes of colleges, which obliged the fellows to take holy orders; the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverel; the hopeful project of limiting clergymen what to preach; with several others of the same stamp, were strenuously opposed, as manifestly tending to the ruin of the church. But you cannot give a single instance, where the least violation hath been offered to her majesty's undoubted prerogative, in either House, by the Lords or Commons of our side. We should have been glad indeed to have seen affairs in other management; yet we never attempted to bring it about by stirring up the city, or inviting foreign ministers to direct the queen in the choice of her servants, much less by infusing jealousies into the next heir. Endeavours were not publicly used to blast the credit of the nation, and discourage foreigners from trusting their money in our funds; nor were writers suffered openly, and in weekly papers, to revile persons in the highest employments. In short, if you can prove where the course of affairs, under the late ministry, was any way clogged by the church party, I will freely own the latter to have so far acted against reason and duty. Your lordship finds I would argue from hence, that even the warmest heads on your side, and those who are deepest engaged, have no tolerable excuse for thwarting the queen upon all occasions; much less you, my lord, who are not involved in their guilt or misfortunes, nor ought to involve yourself in their resentments.

I have often wondered with what countenance those gentlemen, who have so long engrossed the greatest employments, have shared among them the

bounties of the crown and the spoils of the nation, and are now thrown aside with universal odium, can accost others, who either never received the favours of the court, or who must depend upon it for their daily support; with what countenance, I say, these gentlemen can accost such persons in their usual style; "My lord, you were always with us; you will not forsake your friends; you have been still right in your principles; let us join to a man, and the court will not be able to carry it?" and this frequently in points where Whig and Tory are no more concerned, than in the length or colour of your periwigs. Why all this industry to ply you with letters, messages, and visits, for carrying some peevish vote, which only serves to display inveterate pride, ill nature, and disobedience, without effect? Though you are flattered, it must possibly make the crown and ministry so uneasy as to bring on the necessity of a change; which, however, is at best a design but ill becoming a good subject, or a man of honour. I shall say nothing of those who are fallen from their heights of power and profit, who then think all claim of gratitude for past favours cancelled. But you, my lord, upon whom the crown has never cast any peculiar marks of favour or displeasure, ought better to consider the duty you owe your sovereign, not only as a subject in general, but as a member of the peerage, who have been always the strenuous asserters of just prerogative against popular encroachments, as well as of liberty against arbitrary power. So that it is something unnatural, as well as unjust, for one of your order to oppose the most mild and gracious prince that ever reigned, upon a party pique, and in points where prerogative was never disputed.

But, after all, if there were any probable hopes

of bringing things to another turn by these violent methods of your friends, it might then perhaps be granted that you acted at least a politic part; but surely the most sanguine among them could hardly have the confidence to insinuate to your lordship the probability of such an event during her majesty's life. Will any man of common understanding, when he has recovered his liberty after being kept long in the strictest bondage, return of his own accord to gaol, where he is sure of being confined for ever? This her majesty and millions of her subjects firmly believe to be exactly the case; and whether it be so or no, it is enough that it is so believed; and this belief is attended with as great an aversion for those keepers as a good Christian can be allowed to entertain, as well as with a dread of ever being again in their power; so that, whenever the ministry may be changed, it will certainly not be to the advantage of your party, except under the next successor, which, I hope, is too remote a view for your lordship to proceed by; though I know some of your chiefs who build all their expectations upon it.

For indeed, my lord, your party is much deceived, when they think to distress a ministry for any long time, or to any great purpose, while those ministers act under a queen who is so firmly convinced of their zeal and ability for her service, and who is, at the same time, so thoroughly possessed of the people's hearts. Such a weight will infallibly at length bear down the balance; and, according to the nature of our constitution, it ought to be so; because, when any one of the three powers whereof our government is composed proves too strong for the other two, there is an end of our monarchy. So little are you to regard the crude politics of those who cried out, "The constitution was in

danger," when her majesty lately increased the peerage; without which it was impossible the two Houses could have proceeded, with any concert, upon the most weighty affairs of the kingdom.

I know not any quarrels your lordship, as a member of the Whig party, can have against the court, except those which I have already mentioned; I mean, the removal of the late ministry, the dismission of the Duke of Marlborough, and the present negotiations of peace. I shall not say anything farther upon these heads; only as to the second, which concerns the Duke of Marlborough, give me leave to observe, that there is no kingdom or state in Christendom, where a person in such circumstances would have been so gently treated. But it is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their displeasure are frequently much more public than the cause: the punishments are in the face of the world, when the crimes are in the dark; and posterity, without knowing the truth of things, may perhaps number us among the ungrateful populace of Greece and Rome, for discarding a general, under whose conduct our troops have been so many years victorious; whereas it is most certain, that this great lord's resolution against peace, upon any terms whatsoever, did reach the ministry at home as much as the enemy abroad: nay, his rage against the former was so much the more violent of the two, that, as it is affirmed by skilful computers, he spent more money here upon secret-service in a few months, than he did for many years in Flanders.* But whether that be true or false, your lordship knows very well, that he resolved to give no quarter, whatever he might be content to take when he should

* It was one of the charges against the Duke of Marlborough that he pocketed the secret-service money.

find himself at mercy. And the question was brought to this issue, whether the queen should dissolve the present parliament, procure a new one of the Whig stamp, turn out those who had ventured so far to rescue her from insolence and ill usage, and invite her old controllers to resume their tyranny with a recruited spirit of vengeance? or, whether she should save all this trouble, danger, and vexation, by only changing one general for another?

Whatever good opinion I may have of the present ministry, I do not pretend, by anything I have said, to make your lordship believe, that they are persons of sublime abstracted Roman virtue: but, where two parties divide a nation, it usually happens, that, although the virtues and vices may be pretty equal on both sides, yet the public good of the country may suit better with the private interest of one side than of the other. Perhaps there may be nothing in it but chance; and it might so have happened, if things were to begin again, that the junto and their adherents would have found it their advantage to be obedient subjects, faithful servants, and good churchmen. However, since these parts happen to be acted by another set of men, I am not very speculative to inquire into the motives; but, having no ambition at heart to mislead me, I naturally side with those who proceed most by the maxims wherein I was educated. There was something like this in the quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey: Cato and Brutus were the two most virtuous men in Rome; the former did not much approve the intentions of the heads on either side; and the latter, by inclination, was more a friend to Cæsar; but, because the senate and people generally followed Pompey, and as Cæsar's party was only made up of the troops with which he conquered Gaul, with the addition of some profligate deserters from Rome, those two

excellent men, who thought it base to stand neuter where the liberties of their country were at stake, joined heartily on that side which undertook to preserve the laws and constitution, against the usurpations of a victorious general, whose ambition was bent to overthrow them.*

I cannot dismiss your lordship, without a remark or two upon the bill for appointing commissioners to inquire into the grants since 1688, which was lately thrown out of your House, for no other reason than the hopes of putting the ministry to a plunge. It was universally known, that the lord-treasurer had prevailed to wave the tack in the House of Commons, and promised his endeavours to make the bill pass by itself in the House of Lords.† I could name at least five or six of your noble friends, who, if left to the guidance of their own opinion, would heartily concur to an entire resumption of those grants; others assure me they could name a dozen: yet, upon the hope of weakening the court, perplexing the ministry, and shaking the lord-treasurer's credit in the House of Commons, you went on so unanimously, that I do not hear there was one single negative in your whole list, nor above one Whig lord guilty of a suspicious absence,‡ who,

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* Steele had the boldness, in one of his Tatlers, to compare Marlborough to Cæsar, on the point of passing the Rubicon, and to insinuate some violent step of the same nature as the probable consequence of his disgrace.

† The Commons had ordered a bill to be brought in for a further resumption of King William's grants, in order to raise funds for payment of national debt. But, after it had been passed in the Commons, and commissioners had been named for valuing the lands, it was rejected by the Lords, 31st April 1711.

‡ The Earl of Sunderland seems to be alluded to. He absented himself under pretext of indisposition, although he had Lord Colpepper's proxy in his pocket. But the vigilance of the Duke of Portland was such, that an express, dispatched to Lord

being much in your lordship's circumstances, of a great patrimonial estate, and under no obligation to either side, did not think himself bound to forward a point, driven on merely to make the crown uneasy at this juncture, while it no way affected his principles as a Whig, and which, I am told, was directly against his private judgment. How he has since been treated as an apostate ,and betrayer of his friends, by some of the leaders and their deputies among you, I hope your lordship is ashamed to reflect on: nor do I take such open and sudden declarations to be very wise, unless you already despair of his return, which, I think, after such usage, you justly may. For the rest, I doubt your lordship's friends have missed every end they proposed to themselves in rejecting that bill. My lord-treasurer's credit is not any way lessened in the House of Commons. In your own House, you have been very far from making a division among the queen's friends; as appeared manifestly a few days ago, when you lost your vote by so great a majority, and disappointed those who had been encouraged to hire places, upon certain expectations of seeing a parade to the Tower.* Lastly, it may probably happen, that those who opposed an inquisition into the grants, will be found to have hardly done any very great service to the present possessors. To

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Colpepper, returned with a proxy in favour of another peer, time enough to be reckoned in the vote.

* "We got a great victory last Wednesday [May 28] in the House of Lords, by a majority, I think, of twenty-eight; and the Whigs had desired their friends to take places, to see lord-treasurer carried to the Tower."—*Journal to Stella*, May 31, 1712.—The motion was, "To address her majesty, that she would be pleased to send orders to her general [the Duke of Ormond] to act, in concert with her allies, offensively against France, in order to obtain a safe and honourable peace."

charge those grants with six years' purchase to the public, and then to confirm the title by parliament, would, in effect, be no real loss to the owners, because, by such a confirmation, they would rise in value proportionably, and differ as much as the best title can from the worst. The adverse party knew very well, that nothing beyond this was intended; but they cannot be sure what may be the event of a second inspection, which the resentment of the House of Commons will probably render more severe, and which you will never be able to avert when your number lessens, as it certainly must; and when the expedient is put in practice, without a tack, of making those grants part of a supply. From whence it is plain, that the zeal against that bill arose in a great measure from some other cause, than a tenderness to those who were to suffer by it.

I shall conclude, my lord, with putting you in mind, that you are a subject of the queen, a peer of the realm, and a servant of your country; and, in any of these capacities, you are not to consider what you dislike in the persons of those who are in the administration, but the manner of conducting themselves while they are in: and then I do not despair but your own good sense will fully convince you, that the prerogative of your prince, without which her government cannot subsist; the honour of your house, which has been always the great assertor of that prerogative; and the welfare of your country, are too precious to be made a sacrifice to the malice, the interest, and the ambition, of a few party leaders.

A

SUPPOSED LETTER

FROM

THE PRETENDER TO ANOTHER WHIG LORD.

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SWIFT, never omitting any opportunity of venting his satire upon the Earl of Wharton, made him the party addressed in this supposed letter, by which he meant to retort upon the Whigs the charge of being favourable to the Pretender's interest.

"I was with my friend Lewis to-day, getting materials for a little mischief."—*Journal to Stella*, May 28, 1712.

"Things are now in the way of being soon in the extremes of well or ill: I hope and believe the first. Lord Wharton is gone out of town in a rage; and curses himself and friends for ruining themselves in defending Lords Marlborough and Godolphin, and taking Nottingham into their favour. He swears he will meddle no more during this reign; a pretty speech at sixty-six; and the queen is near twenty years younger, and now in very good health! Read the Letter to a Whig Lord."—*Ibid. June* 17.

"To-day there will be another Grub: A Letter from the Pretender to a Whig Lord. Grub Street has but ten days to live; then an act of parliament takes place that ruins it, by taxing every halfsheet at a halfpenny."—*Ibid. July* 19.

St. Germains, July 8, 1712.

MY LORD WHARTON,

THANK you heartily for your letter; and you may be firmly assured of my friendship. In answer to what you hint, that some of our friends suspect; I protest to you, upon the word of a king and my

Lord Middleton * will be my witness, that I never held the least correspondence with any one person of Tory party. I observe, as near as I can, the instructions of the king my father; among whose papers there is not one letter, as I remember, from any Tory, except two lords and a lady,† who, as you know, have been for some years past devoted to me and the Whigs. I approve of the scheme you sent me, signed by our friends. I do not find 24's name to it: perhaps he may be sick, or in the country.‡ Middleton will be satisfied to be groom of the stole: and if you have Ireland, 11 may have the staff, provided 15 resigns his pretensions; in which case, he shall have six thousand pounds a-year for life, and a dukedom.§ I am content 13 should be secretary and a lord: and I will pay his debts when I am able.‖

I confess, I am sorry your general pardon has so many exceptions; but you and my other friends are judges of that. It was with great difficulty I prevailed on the queen to let me sign the commission for life, though her majesty is entirely reconciled.¶ If 2 will accept the privy-seal, which

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* The second Earl of Middleton. He was secretary of state for Scotland in 1682, conjoined with the Earl of Murray; and, in 1684, was made one of the principal secretaries of state for England in room of Godolphin. Lord Middleton followed the fortune of James II., and died an exile in France.

† The Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, with Lord Godolphin, were, in King William's reign, suspected of having correspondence with St. Germains.

‡ The same Whig lord seems to be alluded to, who, in the preceding letter, is said to have been guilty of a suspicious absence from the House, when his party pushed the rejection of the bill for resumption of King William's grants, and who seems to be Lord Sunderland.

§ Portland and Godolphin seem to be meant.

‖ Walpole, perhaps.

¶ This obviously alludes to Marlborough's commission as general for life, which it was said he demanded of Queen Anne.

you tell me is what would please him, the salary should be doubled: I am obliged to his good intentions, how ill soever they may have succeeded.* All other parts of your plan I entirely agree with; only as to the party that opposes us, your proposal about Z † may bring an odium upon my government: he stands the first excepted; and we shall have enough against him in a legal way. I wish you would allow me twelve more domestics of my own religion; and I will give you what security you please, not to hinder any designs you have of altering the present established worship. Since I have so few employments left me to dispose of, and that most of our friends are to hold theirs for life, I hope you will all be satisfied with so great a share of power. I bid you heartily farewell, and am your assured friend.

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* Probably meaning Nottingham, and his promise to bring over a body of high-churchmen to the party of the Whigs.

† We are to suppose, that the plan submitted to the Chevalier de St. George by the Whigs, had included some violence against the person of Oxford.

A PRETENDED

LETTER OF THANKS

FROM

LORD WHARTON TO THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH,

IN THE NAME OF

THE KITCAT CLUB.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

REMARKS ON THE BISHOP'S PREFACE.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1712.

THE learned William Fleetwood, successively Bishop of St. Asaph and Ely, had been one of Queen Anne's chaplains, and frequently preached before her during the administration of Godolphin. The queen was so partial to him, as usually to call him *her bishop;* his preferment having been conferred on her majesty's own motion. As he was a steady Whig in principle, he collected and published four of these sermons, with a preface; in which, to use the words of Steele, he endeavoured to show, "that Christianity left us where it found us, as to our civil rights." But, besides an avowal of low-church principles, it contained a pointed and animated attack upon Oxford's administration. The following passage was particularly resented: "Never did seven such years together pass over the head of any English monarch, nor cover it with so much honour; the crown and sceptre seemed to be the queen's least ornaments. Those, other princes wore in common with her; and her great personal virtues

were the same before and since. But such was the fame of her administration of affairs at home, such was the reputation of her wisdom and felicity in chusing ministers, and such was then esteemed their faithfulness and zeal, their diligence and great abilities in executing her commands; to such a height of military glory did her great general and her armies carry the British name abroad; such was the harmony and concord betwixt her and her allies; and such was the blessing of God upon all her undertakings, that I am as sure as history can make me, no prince of ours was ever yet so prosperous and successful, so loved, esteemed, and honoured by their subjects and their friends, nor near so formidable to their enemies. We were, as all the world imagined then, just entering on the ways that promised to lead to such a peace, as would have answered all the prayers of our religious queen, the care and vigilance of a most able ministry, the payments of a willing and obedient people, as well as all the glorious toil and hazards of the soldiery, when God, for our sins, permitted the spirit of discord to go forth, and, by troubling sore the camp, the city, and the country, (and, oh! that it had altogether spared the places sacred to his worship!) to spoil for a time this beautiful and pleasing prospect, and give us in its stead—I know not what. Our enemies will tell the rest with pleasure. It will become me better to pray to God, to restore us to the power of obtaining such a peace, as will be to his glory, the safety, honour, and the welfare of the queen and her dominions, and the general satisfaction of all her high and mighty allies."

The Whigs took the most active measures to circulate this tract, by inserting it in the Spectator, then universally popular, and read by all parties. The Tories, on the other hand, were so incensed, that a motion was made and carried in the House of Commons, for having the Bishop's Preface publicly burnt; which was accordingly performed, 12th May 1712.

Swift, in the following tract, adds insult to indignity. The Kitcat Club, in whose name it is pretended Lord Wharton writes, contained the very flower of the Whig wits and politicians. It derived its title, as is now generally agreed, from the name of the person who kept the tavern in which they met, and who was renowned for the art of making mutton pies. Old Jacob Tonson was their secretary. As Halifax, Wharton, Garth, and other members of the society, were supposed to be latitudinarians in religion, Swift assumes atheism as the characteristic quality of the body, in order to render their approbation more disgraceful to the bishop.

Mr. Nichols believes the tract to be one of those seven which Swift published during the fortnight before the trade of Grub Street was destroyed by a stamp upon the productions of her inhabitants.—See *Journal to Stella*, 7th August 1712.

A LETTER, &c.

MY LORD,

IT was with no little satisfaction I undertook the pleasing task, assigned me by the gentlemen of the Kitcat Club, of addressing your lordship with thanks for your late service so seasonably done to our sinking cause, in reprinting those most excellent discourses, which you had formerly preached with so great applause, though they were never heard of by us till they were recommended to our perusal by the Spectator, who, some time since, in one of his papers,* entertained the town with a paragraph out of the Postboy, and your lordship's extraordinary preface.

The world will, perhaps, be surprised, that gentlemen of our complexion, who have so long been piously employed in overturning the foundations of religion and government, should now stoop to the puny amusement of reading and commending

* The Spectator, No. 384, contains an extract from the Postboy, about the rumoured death of the Chevalier St. George, and a full copy of the Bishop's Preface, which had the effect, as the prelate himself assures us, of dispersing fourteen thousand copies.

sermons. But your lordship can work miracles, as well as write on them; and I dare assure your lordship and the world, that there is not an atheist in the whole kingdom, (and we are no inconsiderable party,) but will readily subscribe to the principles so zealously advanced, and so learnedly maintained, in those discourses.

I cannot but observe, with infinite delight, that the reasons your lordship gives for reprinting those immortal pieces are urged with that strength and force which is peculiar to your lordship's writings, and is such as all who have any regard for truth, or relish for good writing, must admire, though none can sufficiently commend.

In a word, the preface is equal to the sermons: less than that ought not, and more cannot, be said of it. In this you play the part of a prophet, with the same address as that of a preacher in those; and, in a strain no ways inferior to Jeremiah, or any of those old pretenders to inspiration, sagely foretel those impending miseries which seem to threaten these nations, by the introduction of popery and arbitrary power. This a man of less penetration than your lordship, without a spirit of divination, or going to the devil for the discovery, may justly "fear and presage, from the natural tendency of several principles and practices which have of late been so studiously revived." I know your lordship means those long since exploded doctrines of obedience and submission to princes, which were only calculated to make "a free and happy people slaves, and miserable." Who but asses, and packhorses, and beasts of burden, can enteriain such servile notions? What! shall the lives and liberties of a free-born nation be sacrificed to the pride and ambition, the humour and caprice of any one single person? Kings and princes are the creatures of

the people, mere state pageants, more for show than use; and shall we fall down and worship those idols, those golden calves of our own setting up? No, never, as long as I can hold a sword, or your lordship a pen.

It was suitable to that admirable foresight, which is so conspicuous in every part of your lordship's conduct, to take this effectual method of delivering yourself "from the reproaches and curses of posterity, by publicly declaring to all the world, that though, in the constant course of your ministry, you have never failed, on proper occasions, to recommend the loving, honouring, and reverencing the prince's person," so as never to break his royal shins, nor tread upon his heels; yet you never intended men should pay any submission or obedience to him any longer than he acted according to the will and pleasure of his people. This, you say, is the opinion of Christ, St. Peter, and St. Paul: and, faith, I am glad to hear it; for I never thought that they had been Whigs before.* But, since your lordship has thus taught them to declare for rebellion, you may easily persuade them to do as much for profaneness and immorality; and then they, together with your lordship, shall be enrolled members of our club. Your lordship, a little after, (I suppose, to strengthen the testimony of the aforementioned authors,) takes care to tell us, that "this always was, and still is, your own judgment in these matters." You need not fear we

* The worthy bishop only says, "He did not think himself authorised to tell the people that either Christ, St. Peter, or St. Paul, or any other holy writer, had, by any doctrine delivered by them, subverted the laws and constitution of the country in which they lived, or put them in a worse condition, with respect to their civil liberties, than they would have been had they not been Christians."

should suspect your constancy and perseverance; for my Lord Somers, that great genius, who is the life and soul, the head and heart of our party, has long since observed, that we have never been disappointed in any of our Whig bishops; but they have always unalterably acted up, or, to speak properly, down to their principles.

It is impossible for me, my lord, in this short address, to do justice to every part of your incomparable preface: nor need I run riot in encomium and panegyric, since you can perform that part so much better for yourself; for you only give those praises, which you only can deserve; as you have formerly proved in the dedication of your "Essay upon Miracles," * to Dr. Godolphin, where you declare your work to be the most perfect of any upon that subject, in order to pay a very uncommon compliment to your patron, by telling him you had prevailed with your modesty to say so much of your performance, because you would not be thought to make so ill a compliment to him, as to present him with what you had not a great esteem for yourself.

Though I cannot go through the whole preface, yet I think myself obliged in gratitude to thank your lordship in a more particular manner for the last part of it, where you display the glories of the Whig ministry in such strong and lasting colours, as must needs cheer and refresh the sight of all Whig spectators, and dazzle the eyes of the Tories. Here your lordship rises, if possible, above your-

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* Dr. Godolphin, vice-provost of Eton, was an early patron of Fleetwood, and being a residentiary of St. Paul's, caused him to be made rector of St. Austin's, London, a living in the gift of the dean and chapter. In 1701, Fleetwood inscribed to Godolphin his celebrated "Essay on Miracles, in two Discourses."

self. Never was such strength of thought, such beauty of expression, so happily joined together. Heavens! such force, such energy, in each pregnant word! such fire, such fervour, in each glowing line! One would think your lordship was animated with the same spirit with which our hero fought. Who can read, unmoved, these following strokes of oratory? "Such was the fame, such was the reputation, such was the faithfulness and zeal, to such a height of military glory, such was the harmony and consent, such was the blessing of God," &c. O! the irresistible charm of the word such! Well, since Erasmus wrote a treatise in praise of Folly, and my Lord Rochester an excellent poem upon Nothing, I am resolved to employ the Spectator, or some of his fraternity, (dealers in words,) to write an encomium upon Such.* But, whatever changes our language may undergo, (and everything that is English is given to change,) this happy word is sure to live in your immortal preface. Your lordship does not end yet; but, to crown all, has another *such* in reserve, where you tell the world, "We were just entering on the ways that lead to such a peace as would have answered all our prayers," &c. Now, perhaps, some snarling Tory might impertinently inquire, when we might have expected such a peace? I answer, when the Dutch could get nothing by the war, nor we Whigs lose anything by a peace; or, to speak in plain terms, (for every one knows I am a freespeaker as well as a freethinker,) when we had exhausted all the nation's treasure, (which everybody knows could not have been long first,) and so far enriched ourselves, and beggared our

* This is a sneer at those papers which contain the humble petition of WHO and WHICH, and the complaint of THAT.

fellow-subjects, as to bring them under a necessity of submitting to what conditions we should think fit to impose; and this too we should have effected, if we had continued in power. But, alas! just in that critical juncture, when (as we thought) our designs were ripe for execution, the scene changed: "God, for our sins," as your lordship wisely observes, "permitted the spirit of discord" (that is, the doctrine of obedience and submission to princes) "to go forth, and by troubling the camp, the city, and the country, (and O that it had spared the places sacred to his worship!) to spoil, for a time, this beautiful and pleasing prospect, and give us in its stead, I know not what . . . . . ." O exquisite! how pathetically does your lordship complain of the downfall of Whiggism, and Daniel Burgess's meeting-house!* The generous compassion your lordship has shown upon this tragical occasion, makes me believe your lordship will not be unaffected with an accident that had like to have befallen a poor whore of my acquaintance about that time, who, being big with Whig, was so alarmed at the rising of the mob, that she had like to have miscarried upon it; for the logical jade presently concluded, (and the inference was natural enough,) that, if they began with pulling down meeting-houses, it might end in demolishing those houses of pleasure where she constantly paid her devotion; and, indeed, there seems a close connection between extempore prayer and extempore love. I doubt not, if this disaster had reached your lordship before, you would have found some room in that moving parenthesis to have expressed your concern for it.

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* Destroyed by Sacheverel's riotous partizans in 1709–10. See the case of Damaree and Purchas in the State Trials.

I come now to that last stroke of your lordship's almighty pen; I mean that expressive dash . . . . . which you give when you come to the new ministry, where you break off with an artful aposiopesis, and, by refusing to say anything of them yourself, leave your readers to think the worst they possibly can. Here your lordship shows yourself a most consummate orator, when even your very silence is thus eloquent.

Before I take my leave, I cannot but congratulate your lordship upon that distinguishing mark of honour which the House of Commons has done your Preface, by ordering it to be burnt.* This

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* The prelate received this affront with great indifference, as appears from his letter to Bishop Burnet, 17th June 1712:

"I received the favour of your lordship's letter, and took it, as I know it was intended, very kindly. The manner of my receiving the indignity put upon my Preface was neither like a Christian nor philosopher, but like a very worldly man. I knew the whole process; I knew it to be a piece of revenge taken by a wicked party, that found themselves sorely stung, and it affected me accordingly, *i.e.* very little. I am not one that love to be the talk of the town; and in this part I confess I was uneasy, although, I think, the talk was very much in my favour. The complaint was made by Hungerford, and seconded by Manley, people that should indeed have been ordered to have burnt it, and thirded by what we call the Court, and carried by numbers without a wise word said against it. Sir Peter King, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Lechmere, and others of the robe, were very strenuous advocates in its behalf, but to no purpose, for the court divided one hundred and nineteen, and my friends but fifty-four. If their design was to intimidate me, they have lost it utterly; or if to suppress the book, it happens much otherwise; for everybody's curiosity is awakened by this usage, and the bookseller finds his account in it above any one else. The Spectator has conveyed above fourteen thousand of them into other people's hands, that would otherwise have never seen or heard of it. In a word, my lord, when I consider that these gentlemen have used me worse than I think they have used their own country, the Emperor, the States, the House of Hanover, and all our allies abroad, as well as all the bravest, wisest, and honestest men we have at home, I

will add a never-failing lustre to your character, when future ages shall read, how a few pages of your lordship's could alarm the representative body of the nation. I know your lordship had rather live in a blaze, then lie buried in obscurity; and would at any rate purchase immortality, though it be in flames. Fire, being a mounting element, is a proper emblem of your lordship's aspiring genius.

I shall detain your lordship no longer; but, according to your example, conclude with a short prayer (though praying, I confess, is not my talent) —May you never want opportunities of thus signalizing yourself; but be "transmitted to posterity," under the character of one who dares sacrifice everything that is most dear to you (even your own darling labours) to promote the interest of our party; and stand sainted in the Whig calendar, as a martyr for the cause! This is the sincere wish of the greatest (next yourself) of your lordship's admirers,

WHARTON.

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am more inclined to become vain, than any ways depressed at what has befallen me, and intend to set up for a man of merit upon this very stock."

REMARKS

ON

BISHOP FLEETWOOD'S PREFACE.*

"*Ecce iterum Crispinus.*"

—o—

THE Bishop of St. Asaph's famous Preface having been so much buffeted of late between advocates and opposers, I had a curiosity to inspect some of his other works. I sent to the booksellers in Duck Lane and Little Britain, who returned me several of the sermons which belonged to that Preface; among others, I took notice of that upon the death of the Duke of Gloucester, which had a little preface of its own, and was omitted, upon mature deliberation, when those sermons were gathered up into a volume; though, considering the bulk, it could hardly be spared. It was a great masterpiece of art in this admirable author, to write such a sermon, as, by help of a preface, would pass for a Tory discourse in one reign, and, by omitting that preface, would denominate him a Whig in another: thus, by changing the position, the picture represents either the pope or the devil, the cardinal or the fool. I confess it was malicious in me, and what few others would have done, to rescue those sermons out of their dust and oblivion; without

* This second attack on the bishop appeared in the second volume of the Examiner.

which, if the author had so pleased, they might have passed for new preached, as well as new printed: neither would the former preface have risen up in judgment to confound the latter. But, upon second thoughts, I cannot tell why this wilfully-forgotten preface may not do the reverend author some service. It is to be presumed, that the Spectator published the last with that intent: why, therefore, should not my publishing the first be for the same end? And I dare be confident, that the part I have chosen will do his lordship much more service; for here it will be found, that this prelate did, once in his life, think and write as became him; and that, while he was a private clergyman, he could print a preface without fear of the hangman. I have chosen to set it at length, to prevent what might be objected against me, as an unfair representer, should I reserve any part of this admirable discourse, as well as to imitate the judicious Spectator;* though I fear I shall not have so good contributions from our party, as that author is said to have from another, upon the like occasion; or, if I chance to give offence, be promised to have my losses made up to me, for my zeal in circulating prefaces. Without any such deep and politic designs, I give it to the world out of mere good nature, that they may find what conceptions the worthy author has formerly had of things, when his business was yet undone; so to silence a clamorous party, who, from the late Preface,

* Who is said in the bishop's letter, above quoted, to have circulated fourteen thousand copies of the Number containing the Preface. The hour of publishing the Spectator was postponed till twelve o'clock upon the day that No. 384 was published. The reason was, that it was always presented with Queen Anne's breakfast, and Steele was determined to leave no time for examining its particular contents upon that occasion.

are too apt, how unjustly soever, to conclude, his lordship's principles are not agreeable to his preferments.

In this excellent Preface, the worthy author thought fit to charge the fanatics and Whigs, upon the Duke of Gloucester's death, as people that would "try to make it a judgment of God upon us for our sins, by turning the kingdom into a commonwealth." The satire must certainly be determined to them; for neither the Tories nor Nonjurors were ever charged with such principles, but rather as carrying the regal authority too high, in asserting the divine right of kings. This species of government, which the learned prelate says, is "as ill fitted for our nature as popery is for our religion," was, by some people, it seems, endeavoured to be brought in, whom he terms "an impudent and clamorous faction." Whether that impudent and clamorous faction would really do all those things he charges them with, is by the Whigs denied, and charitable men may in part make a question: but that by this he did, and could then only mean the Whigs, could be no question at all, since none else were ever charged with those crimes in these kingdoms; and they have always been so, though seldom indeed so heavily, unless by highflying Tories or Jacobites. It seems, his lordship had dreadful apprehensions of what they would "certainly do," and begs of God "evermore to preserve us from this species." And surely he was in the right; for that would be, indeed, "giving us we know not what"—his lordship's enemies "will tell the rest with pleasure!"

A

COMPLETE REFUTATION

OF

THE FALSEHOODS ALLEGED AGAINST

ERASMUS LEWIS, Esq.

"Beware of counterfeits, for such are abroad."
DR. STAFFOLD'S Quack-bill.*

"*Quin, quæ dixisti modo,*
"*Omnia ementitus equidem Sosia Amphitryonis sum.*"
PLAUT.

"*Parva motu primo, mox sese attollit in auras.*"
VIRG.

—o—

ERASMUS LEWIS, our author's intimate friend, and a confidential agent of the ministers, had been accused of holding a correspondence with the court of St. Germains, owing to the odd accident detailed in the following tract. Swift, in his Journal, thus expresses his design to vindicate him. "My friend Lewis has had a lie spread on him, by the mistake of a man, who went to another of his name, to give him thanks for passing his privy seal to come from France. That other Lewis spread about, that the man brought him thanks from Lord Perth and Lord Melfort (lords

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* Thomas Staffold, a quack-doctor and astrologer, died 12th May 1691, as appears from his elegy in the Luttrell Collection. He may have had a successor, however, who enjoyed or assumed his venerable name.

now with the Pretender) for his great services, &c. The lords will examine that other Lewis to-morrow in council; and I believe you will hear of it in the prints, for I will make Abel Roper give an account of it."—*Journal to Stella*, Jan. 27, 1712–13.

"I was in the city with my printer to alter an Examiner, about my friend Lewis's story, which will be told with remarks."—*Ibid.* Jan. 31.

"I could do nothing till to-day about the Examiner; but the printer came this morning, and I dictated to him what was fit to be said; and then Mr. Lewis came, and corrected it as he would have it; so that I was neither at church nor court."—*Ibid.* Feb. 1.

In spite, however, of all explanation, the more zealous Whigs continued to believe in a report so advantageous to their cause, as establishing an immediate correspondence between a confident of the ministry and the court of the Chevalier St. George. This transaction is made the subject of a lampoon, entitled "Lewis upon Lewis, or the Snake in the Grass, a satirical ballad, 1712–13, which occurs in a Whig collection of such pleasantries, called Political Merriment, or Truths told to some Tune, &c., in the glorious year of our preservation, 1714." 8vo.

—o—

Feb. 2, 1712–13.

INTEND this paper for the service of a particular person; but herein I hope, at the same time, to do some good to the public. A monstrous story has been for a while most industriously handed about, reflecting upon a gentleman in great trust under the principal secretary of state; who has conducted himself with so much prudence, that, before this incident, neither the most virulent pens nor tongues have been so bold as to attack him. The reader easily understands, that the person here meant is Mr. Lewis, secretary to the Earl of Dartmouth; concerning whom a story has run, for about ten days past, which makes a mighty noise in this town, is no doubt, with very ample additions transmitted to every part of the kingdom, and probably

will be returned to us by the Dutch Gazetteer, with the judicious comments peculiar to that political author: wherefore, having received the fact and the circumstances from the best hands, I shall here set them down before the reader; who will easily pardon the style, which is made up of extracts from the depositions and assertions of the several persons concerned.

On Sunday last was month, Mr. Lewis, secretary to the Earl of Dartmouth, and Mr. Skelton, met by accident at Mr. Scarborough's lodgings in St. James's, among seven other persons, viz., the Earls of Sussex and Finlater, the Lady Barbara Skelton, Lady Walter, Mrs. Vernon, Mrs. Scarborough, and Miss Scarborough her daughter; who all declared, "that Mr. Lewis and Mr Skelton were half an hour in company together." There Mrs. Scarborough made Mr. Skelton and Mr. Lewis known to each other; and told the former, "that he ought to thank Mr. Lewis for the trouble he had given himself in the dispatch of a licence under the privy-seal, by which Mr. Skelton was permitted to come from France to England." Hereupon Mr. Skelton saluted Mr. Lewis, and told him, "he would wait on him at his house, to return him his thanks." Two or three days after, Mr. Skelton, in company with the Earl of Sussex, his lady's father, went to a house in Marlborough Street, where he was informed Mr. Lewis lived; and, as soon as the supposed Mr. Lewis * appeared, Mr. Skelton expressed himself in these words: "Sir, I beg your pardon; I find I am mistaken: I came to visit Mr. Lewis of my Lord Dartmouth's office, to thank him for the service he did me in passing

* Mr. Henry Lewis, a Hamburgh merchant, and, from his being called also Levi, probably a German Jew.

my privy-seal." Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, answered, "Sir, there is no harm done." Upon which, Mr. Skelton immediately withdrew to my Lord Sussex, who staid for him in the coach; and drove away. Mr. Skelton, who was a stranger to the town, ordered the coachman to drive to Mr. Lewis's, without more particular directions; and this was the occasion of the mistake.

For above a fortnight nothing was said of this matter; but on Saturday, the 24th of January last, a report began to spread, that Mr. Skelton, going by mistake to Mr. Henry Levi, *alias* Lewis, instead of Mr. Lewis of the secretary's office, had told him, "that he had services for him from the Earls of Perth, Middleton, Melfort, and about twelve persons more of the court of St. Germain." When Mr. Lewis heard of this, he wrote to the abovementioned Henry Levi, *alias* Lewis, desiring to be informed, what ground there was for this report; and received for answer, "that his friend Skelton could best inform him." Mr. Lewis wrote a second letter, insisting on an account of this matter, and that he would come and demand it in person. Accordingly, he and Charles Ford, Esq., went the next morning, and found the said Levi in a great surprise at the report, who declared "he had never given the least occasion for it; and that he would go to all the coffeehouses in town, to do Mr. Lewis justice." He was asked by Mr. Lewis, "whether Mr. Skelton had named from what places and persons he had brought those services?" Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, answered, "he was positive Mr. Skelton had neither named person nor place." Here Mr. Skelton was called in; and Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, confirmed what he had said in his hearing. Mr. Lewis then desired he would give him in writing what he had declared before the

company; but Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, excused it as unnecessary, "because he had already said he would do him justice in all the coffeehouses in town." On the other hand, Mr. Lewis insisted to have it in writing, as being less troublesome; and to this Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, replied, "that he would give his answer by three o'clock in the afternoon." Accordingly, Mr. Ford went to his house at the time appointed, but did not find him at home; and, in the meantime, the said Levi went to White's chocolate-house; where, notwithstanding all he had before denied, he spread the above-mentioned report afresh, with several additional circumstances, as, "that when Mr. Skelton and the Earl of Sussex came to his house, they staid with him a considerable time, and drank tea."

The Earl of Peterborough, uncle to the said Mr. Skelton, thought himself obliged to inquire into the truth of this matter: and, after some search, found Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, at the Thatched-house Tavern; where he denied everything again to his lordship, as he had done in the morning to Mr. Ford, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Skelton.

This affair coming to the knowledge of the queen, her majesty was pleased to order an examination of it by some lords of the council. Their lordships appointed Wednesday the 28th of January last for this inquiry; and gave notice for attendance to the said Levi, *alias* Lewis, and several other persons who had knowledge of the matter. When Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, was called in, he declared, "that Mr. Skelton told him he had services for him from France, but did not name any persons." William Pulteney, Esq., who was summoned, affirmed, "that he had told him, Mr. Skelton named the Earls of Perth and Melfort." Here Levi, *alias* Lewis, appeared in confusion; for

he had entreated Mr. Pulteney not to say he had named any names, "for he would not stand it;" but Mr. Pulteney answered, "you may give yourself the lie; I will not." The Earl of Sussex declared, "he did not go out of his coach, and that his son-in-law, Mr. Skelton, had not been gone half a minute before he returned to the coach." Mr. Skelton declared, "that he knew Mr. Lewis by sight perfectly well; that he immediately saw his mistake; that he said nothing to him but the words first mentioned; and that he had not brought Mr. Lewis any service from any person whatsoever." The Earl of Finlater, and other persons summoned, declared, "that Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were personally known to each other," which rendered it wholly improbable that Mr. Skelton should mistake him: so that the whole matter appeared to be only a foolish and malicious invention of the said Levi, *alias* Lewis, who, when called to an account, utterly disowned it.

If Mr. Levi's view, in broaching this incoherent slander, was to make his court to any particular persons, he has been extremely disappointed; since all men of principle, laying aside the distinction of opinions in politics, have entirely agreed in abandoning him; which I observe with a great deal of pleasure, as it is for the honour of human-kind. But, as neither virtue nor vice are wholly engrossed by either party, the good qualities of the mind, whatever bias they may receive by mistaken principles or mistaken politics, will not be extinguished. When I reflect on this, I cannot, without being a very partial writer, forbear doing justice to William Pulteney, Esq., who, being desired by this same Mr. Levi to drop one part of what he knew, refused it with disdain. Men of honour will always side with the truth; of which the behaviour of Mr.

Pulteney, and of a great number of gentlemen of worth and quality, are undeniable instances.

I am only sorry, that the unhappy author of this report seems left so entirely desolate of all his acquaintance, that he has nothing but his own conduct to direct him; and, consequently, is so far from acknowledging his iniquity and repentance to the world, that, in the Daily Courant of Saturday last, he has published a Narrative, as he calls it, of what passed between him and Mr. Skelton; wherein he recedes from some part of his former confession. This Narrative is drawn up by way of answer to an advertisement in the same paper two days before: which advertisement was couched in very moderate terms, and such as Mr. Levi ought, in all prudence, to have acquiesced in. I freely acquit everybody but himself from any share in this miserable proceeding; and can foretel him, that as his prevaricating manner of adhering to some part of the story will not convince one rational person of his veracity; so neither will anybody interpret it otherwise than as a blunder of a helpless creature left to itself; who endeavours to get out of one difficulty by plunging into a greater. It is, therefore, for the sake of this poor young man, that I shall set before him, in the plainest manner I am able, some few inconsistencies in that Narrative of his; the truth of which, he says, he is ready to attest upon oath; which, whether he would avoid by an oath only upon the gospels, himself can best determine.

Mr. Levi says, in the aforesaid Narrative in the Daily Courant, "That Mr. Skelton, mistaking him for Mr. Lewis, told him he had several services to him from France, and named the names of several persons, which he [Levi] will not be positive to." Is it possible, that, among several names, he cannot

be positive so much as to *one*, after having named the Earls of Perth, Middleton, and Melfort, so often at White's and the coffeehouses? Again, he declared, "That my Lord Sussex came in with Mr. Skelton; that both drank tea with him;" and, therefore, whatever words passed, my Lord Sussex must be a witness to. But his lordship declares before the council, "That he never stirred out of the coach; and that Mr. Skelton, in going, returning and talking with Levi, was not absent half a minute." Therefore, now, in his printed Narrative, he contradicts that essential circumstance of my Lord Sussex coming in along with Mr. Skelton; so that we are here to suppose that this discourse passed only between him and Mr. Skelton, without any third person for a witness, and, therefore, he thought he might safely affirm what he pleased. Besides, the nature of their discourse, as Mr. Levi reports it, makes this part of his Narrative impossible and absurd, because the truth of it turns upon Mr. Skelton's mistaking him for the real Mr. Lewis; and it happens, that seven persons of quality were by in a room, where Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were half an hour in company, and saw them talk together. It happens, likewise, that the real and counterfeit Lewis have no more resemblance to each other in their persons than they have in their understandings, their truth, their reputation, or their principles. Besides, in this Narrative, Mr. Levi directly affirms what he directly denied to the Earl of Peterborough, Mr. Ford, and Mr. Lewis himself; to whom he twice or thrice expressly affirmed, that Mr. Skelton had not named either place or person.

There is one circumstance in Levi's Narrative, which may deceive the reader. He says, "Mr. Skelton was taken into the dining-room;" this

dining-room is a ground-room next the street, and Mr. Skelton never went farther than the door of it. His many prevarications in this whole affair, and the many thousand various ways of telling his story, are too tedious to be related. I shall, therefore, conclude with one remark: By the true account, given in this paper, it appears, that Mr. Skelton, finding his mistake before he spoke a word, begged Mr. Levi's pardon, and by way of apology, told him, "his visit was intended to Mr. Lewis of my Lord Dartmouth's office, to thank him for the *service* he had done him, in passing the privy-seal." It is probable, that Mr. Levi's low intellectuals were deluded by the word *service*, which he took as compliments from some persons; and then it was easy to find names. Thus, what his ignorance and simplicity misled him to begin, his malice taught him to propagate.

I have been the more solicitous to set this matter in a clear light, because Mr. Lewis being employed and trusted in public affairs, if this report had prevailed, persons of the first rank might possibly have been wounded through his sides.

A

PREFACE

TO THE

BISHOP OF SARUM'S INTRODUCTION

TO THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY GREGORY MISOSARUM.

Spargere voces
In vulgum ambiguas, et quærere conscius arma.

PUBLISHED DEC. 8, 1713.

THE celebrated Bishop Burnet, with many estimable qualities, had much of that bursting vanity, which inclines writers too frequently to parade themselves and their works in the eye of the public. In this spirit, when about to publish the third volume of his "History of the Reformation," he thought proper first to send forth the Introduction in the shape of a pamphlet, to excite the attention of the world, and inform them of the treat which he had prepared for them. This was in 1714, and the book itself did not appear until the year following. Swift, who hated the prelate, fell upon this unnecessary precursor of his third volume with unrelenting severity. "He treats him," says Dr. Johnson, "like one whom he is glad of an opportunity to insult."

The Introduction, no doubt, exhibited strong symptoms of personal vanity, and was marked by the usual defects of Burnet's

style. But the principal objects of the satirist's wrath are those obtestations with which the bishop calls upon all his readers to beware of the imminent danger of popery. This implied, that it was the object of the Tory ministry to bring in the Pope and the Pretender; an insinuation which Swift reprobates in his bitterest tone of irony.

As the bishop had prefaced his introduction with a note, addressed to the bookseller, Swift has given us a parody of its contents.

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TO

THE BOOKSELLER.

MR. MORPHEW,

YOUR care in putting an advertisement in the Examiner has been of very great use to me. I now send you my Preface to the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction to his third volume, which I desire you to print in such a form as, in the bookseller's phrase, will make a sixpenny touch; hoping it will give such a public notice of my design, that it may come into the hands of those who perhaps look not into the bishop's Introduction. I desire you will prefix to this a passage out of Virgil, which does so perfectly agree with my present thoughts of his lordship, that I cannot express them better, nor more truly, than those words do.

I am,

Sir,

Your humble servant.

A PREFACE, &c.*

THIS way of publishing introductions to books that are God knows when to come out, is either wholly new, or so long unpractised, that my small reading cannot trace it. However, we are to suppose that a person of his lordship's great age and experience would hardly act such a piece of singularity, without some extraordinary motives. I cannot but observe, that his fellow-labourer, the author of the paper called the Englishman,† seems, in some of his late performances, to have almost transcribed the notions of the bishop: these notions I take to have been dictated by the same masters, leaving to each writer that peculiar manner of expressing himself, which the poverty of our language forces me to call their style. When the Guardian changed his title, and professed to engage in faction,

* Mr. Nichols quotes from the *Speculum Sarisburianum*, "That the frequent and hasty repetitions of such prefaces and introductions, no less than three new ones in about one year's time, beside an old serviceable one republished concerning persecution—are preludes to other practical things, beside pastoral cares, sermons, and histories."

† Steele.

I was sure the word was given; that grand preparations were making against next session: that all advantages would be taken of the little dissensions reported to be among those in power; and that the Guardian would soon be seconded by some other piqueerers from the same camp. But I will confess my suspicions did not carry me so far, as to conjecture, that this venerable champion would be in such mighty haste to come into the field, and serve in the quality of an *enfant perdu*,* armed only with a pocket pistol, before his great blunderbuss could be got ready, his old rusty breastplate scoured, and his cracked headpiece mended.

I was debating with myself, whether this hint of producing a small pamphlet to give notice of a large folio, was not borrowed from the ceremonial in Spanish romances, where a dwarf is sent out upon the battlements, to signify to all passengers what a mighty giant there is in the castle; or whether the bishop copied this proceeding from the *fanfarronade* of Monsieur Boufflers, when the Earl of Portland and that general had an interview. Several men were appointed, at certain periods, to ride in great haste toward the English camp, and cry out, *Monseigneur vient, Monseigneur vient:* then small parties advancing with the same speed, and the same cry; and this foppery held for many hours, until the mareschal himself arrived. So here the bishop (as we find by his dedication to Mr. Churchill the bookseller) has for a long time sent warning of his arrival by advertisements in gazettes; and now his introduction advances to tell us again, *monseigneur vient;* in the meantime we must gape, and wait, and gaze, the Lord knows how long, and keep our spirits in some reasonable agitation, until

* *Enfant perdu*, one of the advanced guard.

his lordship's real self shall think fit to appear, in the habit of a folio.*

I have seen the same sort of management at a puppet-show. Some puppets of little or no consequence appeared several times at the window to allure the boys and the rabble; the trumpeter sounded often, and the doorkeeper cried a hundred times, until he was hoarse, that they were just going to begin; yet, after all, we were forced sometimes to wait an hour before Punch himself in person made his entry.

But why this ceremony among old acquaintance? The world and he have long known one another: let him appoint his hour, and make his visit, without troubling us all day with a succession of messages from his lackeys and pages.

With submission, these little arts of getting off an edition do ill become any author above the size of Marten the surgeon. My lord tells us, that "many thousands of the two former parts of his History are in the kingdom;" and now he perpetually advertises in the gazette, that he intends to publish the third. This is exactly in the method and style of Marten; "the seventh edition (many thousands of the former editions having been sold off in a small time) of Mr. Marten's book concerning secret diseases," &c.

Does his lordship intend to publish his great volume by subscription, and is this introduction only by way of specimen? I was inclined to think so, because, in the prefixed letter to Mr. Churchill, which introduces this introduction, there are some dubious expressions: he says, "the advertisements he published

* And, as if to make good the comparison, when his lordship did at length come forth in *quarto*, he did not deem the introduction formerly published sufficiently full and solemn, but prefixed to it a preface of fourteen pages.

were in order to move people to furnish him with materials, which might help him to finish his work with great advantage." If he means half-a-guinea upon the subscription, and the other half at the delivery, why does he not tell us so in plain terms?

I am wondering how it came to pass, that this diminutive letter to Mr. Churchill should understand the business of introducing better than the introduction itself; or why the bishop did not take it into his head to send the former into the world some months before the latter, which would have been a greater improvement upon the solemnity of the procession?

Since I writ these last lines, I have perused the whole pamphlet, (which I had only dipped in before,) and found I have been hunting upon a wrong scent; for the author has, in several parts of his piece, discovered the true motives, which put him upon sending it abroad at this juncture; I shall therefore consider them as they come in my way.

My lord begins his introduction with an account of the reasons why he was guilty of so many mistakes in the first volume of his History of the Reformation: his excuses are just, rational, and extremely consistent. He says, "he wrote in haste," which he confirms by adding, "that it lay a year after he wrote it before it was put into the press." At the same time he mentioned a passage extremely to the honour of that pious and excellent prelate, Archbishop Sancroft, which demonstrates his grace to have been a person of great sagacity, and almost a prophet. Dr. Burnet, then a private divine, "desired admittance to the Cotton library, but was prevented by the archbishop, who told Sir John Cotton, that the said doctor was no friend to the prerogative of the crown, or to the constitution

of the kingdom." * This judgment was the more extraordinary, because the doctor had, not long before, published a book in Scotland, with his name prefixed, which carries the regal prerogative higher than any writer of the age: † however, the good archbishop lived to see his opinion become universal in the kingdom.

The bishop goes on, for many pages, with an account of certain facts relating to the publishing of his two former volumes of the Reformation; the great success of that work, and the adversaries who appeared against it. These are matters out of the way of my reading; only I observe that poor Mr. Henry Wharton, who has deserved so well of the commonwealth of learning, and who

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* The statement is mitigated in the Introduction as it now stands: "The present Bishop of Worcester carried me to Sir John Cotton, to ask admittance. But a great prelate had been beforehand with us, and had possessed him with such prejudices against me, as being no friend to the prerogative of the crown, nor to the constitution of our church, that he said, (as he was prepared,) that unless the Archbishop of Canterbury and a secretary of state would recommend me, as a person fit to have access to the library, he desired to be excused. And though that worthy prelate said he would be answerable for the use that I should make of it, yet he could not be prevailed on to depart from the answer that he had made us. Nor could that reverend person prevail with Archbishop Sancroft to interpose. And though I offered to deliver up all the collections I had made to any person that would undertake the work, yet no regard was had to that. So I saw it was resolved on, either not to let the work go on, or at least, that I should not have the honour to be employed in it."—BURNET'S *History of the Reformation.* London, 1715.

† This was Burnet's "Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland," dedicated to the Duke of Lauderdale, and published in 1672. The dedication contains an eulogium of the duke, and the work a defence of episcopacy and monarchy against Buchanan and his followers. At a later period, the author did not probably recollect this juvenile publication with much complacence.

gave himself the trouble of detecting some hundreds of the bishop's mistakes, meets with very ill quarter from his lordship; upon which, I cannot avoid mentioning a peculiar method which this prelate takes to revenge himself upon those who presume to differ from him in print. The Bishop of Rochester* happened some years ago to be of this number. My Lord of Sarum, in his reply, ventured to tell the world, that the gentleman who had writ against him, meaning Dr. Atterbury, was one upon whom he had conferred great obligations, which was a very generous Christian contrivance of charging his adversary with ingratitude. But it seems the truth happened to be on the other side, which the doctor made appear in such a manner as would have silenced his lordship for ever, if he had not been writing proof. Poor Mr. Wharton, in his grave, is charged with the same accusation, but with circumstances the most aggravating that malice and something else could invent; and which I will no more believe than five hundred passages in a certain book of travels.† See the character he gives of a divine and a scholar, who shortened his life in the service of God and the church. "Mr. Wharton‡ desired me to intercede

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* Dr. Atterbury.

† Burnet's Travels.

‡ "The next attack that was made on my work was in the year 1693, under the title of 'A Specimen of some Errors and Defects in the History of the Reformation of the Church of England, by Anthony Farmer.' It is well known that was a disguised name, and that the author was Mr. Henry Wharton, who had published two volumes, with the title of *Anglia Sacra*. He had examined the dark ages before the Reformation with much diligence, and so knew many things relating to those times beyond any man of the age; he pretended that he had many more errors in reserve, and that this specimen was only a hasty collection of a few, out of many other discoveries he could make.

with Tillotson for a prebend of Canterbury. I did so, but Wharton would not believe it; said he would be revenged, and so writ against me. Soon after, he was convinced I had spoke for him; said he was set on to do what he did, and, if I would procure anything for him, he would discover every-

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This consisted of some trifling and minute differences in some dates and transactions of no importance, upon which nothing depended; so I cannot tell whether I took these too easily from printed books, or if I committed any errors in my notes taken in the several offices. He likewise follows me through the several recapitulations I had made of the state of things before the Reformation, and finds errors and omissions in most of these; he adds some things out of papers I had never seen. The whole was writ with so much malice, and such contempt, that I must give some account of the man, and of his motives. He had expressed great zeal against popery, in the end of King James's reign, being then chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, who, as he said, had promised him the first of those prebends of Canterbury that should fall in his gift: for when he saw that the archbishop was resolved not to take the oaths, but to forsake the post, he made an earnest application to me, to secure that for him at Archbishop Tillotson's hands. I pressed him in it as much as was decent for me to do, but he said he would not encourage these aspiring men, by promising anything before it should fall; as indeed none of them fell during his time. Wharton, upon this answer, thought I had neglected him, looking on it as a civil denial, and said he would be revenged; and so he published that specimen: upon which, I, in a letter that I printed, addressed to the present Bishop of Worcester, charged him again and again to bring forth all that he pretended to have reserved at that time, for, till that was done, I would not enter upon the examination of that specimen. It was received with contempt, and Tillotson justified my pressing him to take Wharton under his particular protection so fully, that he sent and asked me pardon. He said he was set on to it; and that, if I would procure anything for him, he would discover anything to me. I despised that offer, but said that I would at any price buy of him those discoveries that he pretended to have in reserve. But Mr. Chiswell (at whose house he then lay) being sick, said he could draw nothing of that from him, and he believed he had nothing. He died about a year after."—BURNET'S *History of the Reformation*, III. vii.

thing to me." What a spirit of candour, charity, and good nature, generosity, and truth, shines through this story, told of a most excellent and pious divine, twenty years after his death, without one single voucher!

Come we now to the reasons, which moved his lordship to set about this work at this time. "He could delay it no longer, because the reasons of his engaging in it at first seem to return upon him." He was then frightened with "the danger of a popish successor in view, and the dreadful apprehensions of the power of France. England has forgot these dangers, and yet is nearer to them than ever," and therefore he is resolved to "awaken them" with his third volume; but, in the meantime, sends this introduction to let them know they are asleep. He then goes on in describing the condition of the kingdom, after such a manner, as if destruction hung over us by a single hair; as if the pope, the devil, the Pretender, and France, were just at our doors.

When the bishop published his History, there was a popish plot on foot: the Duke of York, a known papist, was presumptive heir to the crown: the House of Commons would not hear of any expedient for securing their religion under a popish prince, nor would the king, or lords, consent to a bill of exclusion: the French King was in the height of his grandeur, and the vigour of his age. At this day, the presumptive heir, with that whole illustrious family, are Protestants; the popish Pretender excluded for ever by several acts of Parliament; and every person in the smallest employment, as well as the members of both Houses, obliged to abjure him. The French King is at the lowest ebb of life; his armies have been conquered, and his towns won from him for ten years

together; and his kingdom is in danger of being torn by divisions during a long minority. Are these cases parallel? or are we now in more danger of France and popery than we were thirty years ago? What can be the motive for advancing such false, such detestable assertions? what conclusions would his lordship draw from such premises as these? If injurious appellations were of any advantage to a cause, (as the style of our adversaries would make us believe,) what appellations would those deserve, who thus endeavour to sow the seeds of sedition, and are impatient to see the fruits? "But," saith he, "the deaf adder stoppeth her ears, let the charmer charm never so wisely." True, my lord, there are indeed too many adders in this nation's bosom; adders in all shapes, and in all habits, whom neither the queen nor parliament can charm to loyalty, truth, religion, or honour.

Among other instances produced by him of the dismal condition we are in, he offers one which could not easily be guessed. It is this, "That the little factious pamphlets written about the end of King Charles II.'s reign lie dead in shops, are looked on as waste paper, and turned to pasteboard." How many are there of his lordship's writings, which could otherwise never have been of any real service to the public? Has he indeed so mean an opinion of our taste, to send us at this time of day into all the corners of Holbourn, Duck Lane, and Moorfields, in quest after the factious trash published in those days by Julian Johnson,* Hickeringil,† Dr. Oates, and himself?

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* The Rev. Samuel Johnson, degraded from his clerical rank, scourged, and imprisoned, for a work called "Julian's Arts to undermine Christianity," in which he drew a parallel between that apostate and James, then Duke of York.

† Edmund Hickeringil, a fanatic preacher at Colchester. He

His lordship, taking it for a *postulatum*, that the queen and ministry, both Houses of Parliament, and a vast majority of the landed gentlemen throughout England, are running headlong into popery, lays hold on the occasion to describe "the cruelties in Queen Mary's reign; an inquisition setting up faggots in Smithfield, and executions all over the kingdom. Here is that," says he, "which those that look toward a popish successor must look for." And he insinuates through his whole pamphlet, that all who are not of his party "look toward a popish successor." These he divides into two parts; the Tory laity, and the Tory clergy. He tells the former, "Although they have no religion at all, but resolve to change with every wind and tide, yet they ought to have compassion on their countrymen and kindred." Then he applies himself to the Tory clergy, assures them, that "the fires revived in Smithfield, and all over the nation, will have no amiable view, but least of all to them; who, if they have any principles at all, must be turned out of their livings, leave their families, be hunted from place to place into parts beyond the seas, and meet with that contempt with which they treated foreigners, who took sanctuary among us."

This requires a recapitulation, with some remarks. First, I do affirm, that, in every hundred of professed atheists, deists, and socinians in the kingdom, ninety-nine at least are staunch thorough-paced Whigs, entirely agreeing with his lordship in politics and discipline; and therefore will venture all the fires of hell, rather than singe one hair of

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appears, from the various pamphlets which he wrote during the reigns of Charles II. and his brother, to have been a meddling crazy fool.

their beards in Smithfield. Secondly, I do likewise affirm, that those whom we usually understand by the appellation of Tory or high-church clergy, were the greatest sticklers against the exorbitant proceedings of King James the Second, the best writers against popery, and the most exemplary sufferers for the established religion. Thirdly, I do pronounce it to be a most false and infamous scandal upon the nation in general, and on the clergy in particular, to reproach them for "treating foreigners with haughtiness and contempt." The French Huguenots are many thousand witnesses to the contrary; and I wish they deserved the thousandth part of the good treatment they have received.*

Lastly, I observe, that the author of a paper called the Englishman has run into the same cant, gravely advising the whole body of the clergy not to bring in popery; because that will put them under a necessity of parting with their wives, or losing their livings.

The bulk of the kingdom, both clergy and laity, happen to differ extremely from this prelate, in many principles both of politics and religion. Now, I ask, Whether, if any man of them had signed his name to a system of atheism, or popery, he could have argued with them otherwise than he does? or, if I should write a grave letter to his lordship with the same advice, taking it for granted that he was half an atheist and half a papist, and conjuring him by all he held dear to have compassion upon all those who believed a God, "not to revive the fires in Smithfield; that he must either forfeit his bishopric, or not marry a fourth wife,"† I ask,

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* These fugitives being Calvinists, Swift always speaks of them with dislike and contempt, as an accession to the dissenters.

† Bishop Burnet had already married three spouses.

whether he would not think I intended him the highest injury and affront?

But as to the Tory laity, he gives them up in a lump for abandoned atheists; they are a set of men so "impiously corrupted in the point of religion, that no scene of cruelty can fright them from leaping into it, (popery,) and perhaps acting such a part in it as may be assigned them." He therefore despairs of influencing them by any topics drawn from religion or compassion, and advances the consideration of interest, as the only powerful argument to persuade them against popery.

What he offers upon this head is so very amazing from a Christian, a clergyman, and a prelate of the church of England, that I must, in my own imagination, strip him of those three capacities, and put him among the number of that set of men he mentions in the paragraph before; or else it will be impossible to shape out an answer.

His lordship, in order to dissuade the Tories from their design of bringing in popery, tells them, "how valuable a part of the whole soil of England, the abbey lands, the estates of the bishops, of the cathedrals, and the tithes are;" how difficult such a resumption would be to many families; "yet all these must be thrown up; for sacrilege, in the church of Rome, is a mortal sin." I desire it may be observed, what a jumble here is made of ecclesiastical revenues, as if they were all upon the same foot, were alienated with equal justice, and the clergy had no more reason to complain of the one than the other; whereas the four branches mentioned by him are of very different consideration. If I might venture to guess the opinion of the clergy upon this matter, I believe they could wish that some small part of the abbey lands had been applied to the augmentation of poor bishopricks;

and a very few acres to serve for glebes in those parishes where there are none; after which, I think they would not repine that the laity should possess the rest. If the estates of some bishops and cathedrals were exorbitant before the Reformation, I believe the present clergy's wishes reach no farther, than that some reasonable temper had been used, instead of paring them to the quick. But as to the tithes, without examining whether they be of divine institution, I conceive there is hardly one of that sacred order in England, and very few even among the laity who love the church, who will not allow the misapplying of those revenues to secular persons, to have been at first a most flagrant act of injustice and oppression; although, at the same time, God forbid they should be restored any other way than by gradual purchase, by the consent of those who are now the lawful possessors, or by the piety and generosity of such worthy spirits as this nation sometimes produces. The bishop knows very well, that the application of tithes to the maintenance of monasteries was a scandalous usurpation, even in popish times; that the monks usually sent out some of their fraternity to supply the cures; and that when the monasteries were granted away by Henry VIII., the parishes were left destitute, or very meanly provided, of any maintenance for a pastor. So that in many places, the whole ecclesiastical dues, even to mortuaries, Easter-offerings, and the like, are in lay hands, and the incumbent lies wholly at the mercy of his patron for his daily bread. By these means, there are several hundred parishes in England under twenty pounds a-year, and many under ten. I take his lordship's bishoprick to be worth near £2500 annual income: and I will engage, at half a year's warning, to find him above a hundred beneficed clergymen, who have

not so much among them all to support themselves and their families; most of them orthodox, of good life and conversation; as loth to see the fires kindled in Smithfield as his lordship; and at least as ready to face them under a popish persecution. But nothing is so hard for those who abound in riches, as to conceive how others can be in want. How can the neighbouring vicar feel cold or hunger, while my lord is seated by a good fire, in the warmest room in his palace, with a dozen dishes before him? I remember one other prelate much of the same stamp, who, when his clergy would mention their wishes that some act of parliament might be thought of for the good of the church, would say, "Gentlemen, we are very well as we are; if they would let us alone, we should ask no more." *

"Sacrilege," says my lord, "in the church of Rome is a mortal sin;" and is it only so in the church of Rome? or is it but a venial sin in the church of England? Our litany calls fornication a deadly sin; and I would appeal to his lordship for fifty years past, whether he thought that or sacrilege the deadliest? To make light of such a sin, at the same moment that he is frightening us from an idolatrous religion, should seem not very consistent. "Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?"

To smooth the way for the return of popery in Queen Mary's time, the grantees were confirmed by the pope in the possession of the abbey lands. But the Bishop tells us, that "this confirmation was

* The reflection was very unjustly flung upon Burnet, who, in 1704, distinguished himself by his zeal in forwarding a scheme for improving the livings of the poorer clergy.

fraudulent and invalid." I shall believe it to be so, although I happen to read in his lordship's history. But he adds, "that although the confirmation had been good, the priests would have got their land again by these two methods; first, the statute of mortmain was repealed for twenty years; in which time, no doubt, they reckoned they would recover the best part of what they had lost; beside that engaging the clergy to renew no leases, was a thing entirely in their own power; and this in forty years' time would raise their revenues to be about ten times their present value." These two expedients for increasing the revenues of the church, he represents as pernicious designs, fit only to be practised in times of popery, and such as the laity ought never to consent to; whence, and from what he said before about tithes, his lordship has freely declared his opinion, that the clergy are rich enough, and that the least addition to their subsistence would be a step toward popery. Now it happens, that the two only methods, which could be thought on, with any probability of success, toward some reasonable augmentation of ecclesiastical revenues, are here rejected by a bishop, as a means for introducing popery, and the nation publicly warned against them; whereas the continuance of the statute of mortmain in full force, after the church had been so terribly stripped, appeared to her majesty and the kingdom a very unnecessary hardship; upon which account it was at several times relaxed by the legislature. Now, as the relaxation of that statute is manifestly one of the reasons which gives the bishop those terrible apprehensions of popery coming on us; so, I conceive, another ground of his fears is, the remission of the first-fruits and tenths. But where the inclination to popery lay, whether in her majesty who proposed

this benefaction, the parliament which confirmed, or the clergy who accepted it, his lordship has not thought fit to determine.

The other popish expedient for augmenting church-revenues is, "engaging the clergy to renew no leases." Several of the most eminent clergymen have assured me, that nothing has been more wished for by good men, than a law to prevent bishops, at least, from setting leases for lives. I could name ten bishopricks in England, whose revenues one with another do not amount to £600 a-year for each; and if his lordship's, for instance, would be above ten times the value when the lives are expired, I should think the overplus would not be ill disposed, toward an augmentation of such as are now shamefully poor. But I do assert, that such an expedient was not always thought popish and dangerous by this right reverend historian. I have had the honour formerly to converse with him; and he has told me several years ago, that he lamented extremely the power which bishops had of letting leases for lives; whereby, as he said, they were utterly deprived of raising their revenues, whatever alterations might happen in the value of money by length of time. I think the reproach of betraying private conversation will not upon this account be laid to my charge. Neither do I believe he would have changed his opinion upon any score, but to take up another more agreeable to the maxims of his party, "that the least addition of property to the church is one step toward popery."

The bishop goes on with much earnestness and prolixity to prove, that the pope's confirmation of the church lands, to those who held them by King Henry's donation, was null and fraudulent; which is a point that I believe no Protestant in England would give threepence to have his choice whether

it should be true or false: it might indeed serve as a passage in his history, among a thousand other instances, to detect the knavery of the court of Rome; but I ask, where could be the use of it in this introduction? or why all this haste in publishing it at this juncture; and so out of all method apart, and before the work itself? He gives his reasons in very plain terms; we are now, it seems, "in more danger of popery than toward the end of King Charles the Second's reign. That set of men (the Tories) is so impiously corrupted in the point of religion, that no scene of cruelty can frighten them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting such a part in it as may be assigned them." He doubts whether the high-church clergy have any principles; and therefore will be ready to turn off their wives, and look on the fires kindled in Smithfield as an amiable view. These are the facts he all along takes for granted, and argues accordingly. Therefore, in despair of dissuading the nobility and gentry of the land from introducing popery, by any motives of honour, religion, alliance, or mercy, he assures them, "That the pope has not duly confirmed their titles to the church lands in their possession;" which therefore must be infallibly restored, as soon as that religion is established among us.

Thus, in his lordship's opinion, there is nothing wanting to make the majority of the kingdom, both for number, quality, and possession, immediately embrace popery, except a "firm bull from the pope," to secure the abbey and other church lands and tithes to the present proprietors and their heirs; if this only difficulty could now be adjusted, the Pretender would be restored next session, the two Houses reconciled to the Church of Rome against Easter term, and the fires lighted in Smith-

field by Midsummer. Such horrible calumnies against a nation are not the less injurious to decency, good nature, truth, honour, and religion, because they may be vented with safety: and I will appeal to any reader of common understanding, whether this be not the most natural and necessary deduction from the passages I have cited and referred to.

Yet all this is but friendly dealing, in comparison with what he affords the clergy upon the same article. He supposes that whole reverend body, who differ from him in principles of church or state, so far from disliking popery upon the above-mentioned motives of perjury, "quitting their wives, or burning their relations;" that the hopes of "enjoying the abbey lands" would soon bear down all such considerations, and be an effectual incitement to their perversion; and so he goes gravely on, as with the only argument which he thinks can have any force, to assure them, that the "parochial priests in Roman Catholic countries are much poorer than in ours; the several orders of regulars, and the magnificence of their church devouring all their treasure;" and by consequence, "their hopes are vain of expecting to be richer after the introduction of popery."

But, after all, his lordship despairs that even this argument will have any force with our abominable clergy, because, to use his own words, "They are an insensible and degenerate race, who are thinking of nothing but their present advantages; and so that they may now support a luxurious and brutal course of irregular and voluptuous practices, they are easily hired to betray their religion, to sell their country, and give up that liberty and those properties, which are the present felicities and glories of this nation."

He seems to reckon all these evils as matters fully determined on, and therefore falls into the last usual form of despair, by threatening the authors of these miseries with "lasting infamy, and the curses of posterity upon perfidious betrayers of their trust."

Let me turn this paragraph into vulgar language, for the use of the poor; and strictly adhere to the sense of the words. I believe it may be faithfully translated in the following manner: "The bulk of the clergy, and one-third of the bishops, are stupid sons of whores, who think of nothing but getting money as soon as they can; if they may but procure enough to supply them in gluttony, drunkenness, and whoring, they are ready to turn traitors to God and their country, and make their fellow-subjects slaves." The rest of the period about threatening infamy, and the curses of posterity upon such dogs and villains, may stand as it does in the bishop's own phrase; and so make the paragraph all of a piece.

I will engage, on the other side, to paraphrase all the rogues and rascals in the Englishman, so as to bring them up exactly to his lordship's style; but, for my own part, I much prefer the plain Billingsgate way of calling names, because it expresses our meaning full as well, and would save abundance of time, which is lost by circumlocution; so, for instance, John Dunton,* who is retained on the same side with the bishop, calls my lord-treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke traitors, whoremongers, and Jacobites; which three words cost our right reverend author thrice as many lines to

* A bookseller, who, having failed in his own trade, was imprudent enough to commence author, in which he was not more successful.

define them; and I hope his lordship does not think there is any difference in point of morality, whether a man calls me traitor in one word, or says I am one "hired to betray my religion, and sell my country."

I am not surprised to see the bishop mention with contempt all convocations of the clergy;* for Toland, Asgill, Monmouth, Collins, Tindal, and others of the fraternity, talk the very same language. His lordship confesses he is not inclined "to expect much from the assemblies of clergymen." There lies the misfortune; for if he, and some more of his order, would correct their inclinations, a great deal of good might be expected from such assemblies; as much as they are now cramped by that submission, which a corrupt clergy brought upon their innocent successors. He will not deny that his copiousness in these matters is, in his own opinion, one of the meanest parts of his new work. I will agree with him, unless he happens to be more copious in anything else. However, it is not easy to conceive, why he should be so copious upon a subject he so much despises, unless it were to gratify his talent of railing at the clergy, in the number of whom he disdains to be reckoned, because he is a bishop; for it is a style I observed some prelates have fallen into of late years, to talk of clergymen, as if themselves were not of the number. You will read in many of their speeches at Dr. Sacheverel's trial, expressions to this or the like effect: "My lords, if clergymen be suffered," &c., wherein they seem to have reason; and I am pretty

* The bishop confesses "he has seen nothing in church history to incline him to depart from Gregory Nazianzen's opinion of those assemblies," who never wished to see any more synods of the clergy.

confident, that a great majority of the clergy were heartily inclined to disown any relation they had to the managers in lawn. However, it was a confounding argument against presbytery, that those prelates, who are most suspected to lean that way, treated their inferior brethren with haughtiness, rigour, and contempt; although, to say the truth, nothing better could be hoped for; because I believe it may pass for a universal rule, that in every diocese governed by bishops of the Whig species, the clergy (especially the poorer sort) are under double discipline; and the laity left to themselves. The opinion of Sir Thomas Moore, which he produces to prove the ill consequences, or insignificancy of convocations, advances no such thing; but says, "If the clergy assembled often, and might act as other assemblies of clergy in Christendom, much good might have come; but the misfortune lay in their long disuse, and that in his own, and a good part of his father's time, they never came together, except at the command of the prince."*

I suppose his lordship thinks there is some original impediment in the study of divinity, or secret incapacity in a gown and cassoc without lawn, which disqualifies all inferior clergymen from debating upon subjects of doctrine or discipline in the church. It is a famous saying of his, "that he looks upon every layman to be an honest man, until he is by experience convinced to the contrary; and on every clergyman as a knave, until he finds him to be an honest man." What opinion then must we have of a Lower House of Convocation;† where, I

* See Sir Thomas Moore's Apology, 1533, p. 241.

† It must not be forgotten, that, during the reign of Queen Anne, the body of the clergy were high-church men; but the

am confident, he will hardly find three persons that ever convinced him of their honesty, or will ever be at the pains to do it? Nay, I am afraid they would think such a conviction might be no very advantageous bargain, to gain the character of an honest man with his lordship, and lose it with the rest of the world.

In the famous concordate that was made between Francis I. of France, and Pope Leo X., the bishop tells us, that "the king and pope came to a bargain, by which they divided the liberties of the Gallican church between them, and indeed quite enslaved it." He intends in the third part of his History, which he is going to publish, "to open this whole matter to the world." In the meantime, he mentions some ill consequences to the Gallican church from that concordate, which are worthy to be observed: "The church of France became a slave; and this change in their constitution put an end not only to national, but even to provincial synods in that kingdom. The assemblies of the clergy there meet now only to give subsidies," &c., and he says, "our nation may see by that proceeding, what it is to deliver up the essential liberties of a free constitution to a court."

All I can gather from this matter is, that our King Henry made a better bargain than his contemporary Francis, who divided the liberties of the church between himself and the Pope, while the King of England seized them all to himself. But how comes he to number the want of synods in the Gallican church among the grievances of that concordate, and as a mark of their slavery, since he

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bishops, who had chiefly been promoted since the Revolution, were Whiggish in politics, and moderate in their sentiments of church government. Hence the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation rarely agreed in sentiment on affairs of church or state.

reckons all convocations of the clergy in England to be useless and dangerous? Or what difference in point of liberty was there, between the Gallican church under Francis, and the English under Harry? For the latter was as much a papist as the former, unless in the point of obedience to the see of Rome; and in every quality of a good man, or a good prince, (except personal courage, wherein both were equal,) the French monarch had the advantage, by as many degrees as is possible for one man to have over another.

Henry VIII. had no manner of intention to change religion in his kingdom; he continued to persecute and burn Protestants, after he had cast off the Pope's supremacy; and I suppose this seizure of ecclesiastical revenues (which Francis never attempted) cannot be reckoned as a mark of the church's liberty. By the quotation the bishop sets down to show the slavery of the French church, he represents it as a grievance, that "bishops are not now elected there as formerly, but wholly appointed by the prince; and that those made by the court have been ordinarily the chief advancers of schisms, heresies, and oppressions of the church." He cites another passage from a Greek writer, and plainly insinuates, that it is justly applicable to her majesty's reign: "Princes choose such men to that charge (of a bishop) who may be their slaves, and in all things obsequious to what they prescribe, and may lie at their feet, and have not so much as a thought contrary to their commands."

These are very singular passages for his lordship to set down, in order to show the dismal consequences of the French concordate, by the slavery of the Gallican church, compared with the freedom of ours. I shall not enter into a long dispute, whether it were better for religion, that bishops should be chosen by

the clergy, or people, or both together: I believe our author would give his vote for the second, (which, however, would not have been of much advantage to himself, and some others that I could name,) but I ask, Whether bishops are any more elected in England than in France? And the want of synods are, in his own opinion, rather a blessing than a grievance, unless he will affirm that more good can be expected from a popish synod than an English convocation. Did the French clergy ever receive a greater blow to their liberties, than the submission made to Henry the Eighth; or so great a one, as the seizure of their lands? The Reformation owed nothing to the good intentions of King Henry: he was only an instrument of it (as the logicians speak) by accident; nor does he appear, throughout his whole reign, to have had any other views than those of gratifying his insatiable love of power, cruelty, oppression, and other irregular appetites. But this kingdom, as well as many other parts of Europe, was, at that time, generally weary of the corruptions and impositions of the Roman court and church; and disposed to receive those doctrines which Luther and his followers had universally spread. Cranmer the archbishop, Cromwell, and others of the court, did secretly embrace the Reformation; and the king's abrogating the pope's supremacy, made the people in general run into the new doctrine with greater freedom, because they hoped to be supported in it by the authority and example of their prince; who disappointed them so far, that he made no other step than rejecting the pope's supremacy, as a clog upon his own power and passions; but retained every corruption besides, and became a cruel persecutor, as well of those who denied his own supremacy, as of all others who professed any Protestant doctrine. Neither has any-

thing disgusted me more in reading the histories of those times, than to see one of the worst princes of any age or country, celebrated as an instrument in that glorious work of the Reformation.*

The bishop, having gone over all the matters that properly fall within his introduction, proceeds to expostulate with several sorts of people: first, with Protestants who are no Christians, such as atheists, deists, freethinkers, and the like enemies to Christianity: but these he treats with the tenderness of a friend, because they are all of them of sound Whig principles in church and state. However, to do him justice, he lightly touches some old topics for the truth of the Gospel: and concludes, by "wishing that the freethinkers would consider well, if (*Anglice*, whether) they think it possible to bring a nation to be without any religion at all; and what the consequences of that may prove;" and in case they allow the negative, he gives it clearly for Christianity.

Secondly, he applies himself (if I take his meaning right) to Christian papists, "who have a taste of liberty;" and desires them to "compare the absurdity of their own religion with the reasonableness of the reformed:" against which, as good luck would have it, I have nothing to object.

Thirdly, he is somewhat rough against his own party, "who, having tasted the sweets of Protestant liberty, can look back so tamely on popery coming on them;" it looks as if they were bewitched, or that the devil were in them, to be so negligent. "It is not enough that they resolve not to turn papists themselves; they ought to awaken all about them, even the most ignorant and stupid, to appre-

* It is, however, obvious, that, in Swift's opinion, Henry's worst fault was his despoiling the church lands.

hend their danger, and to exert themselves with their utmost industry to guard against it, and to resist it. If, after all their endeavours to prevent it, the corruption of the age, and the art and power of our enemies, prove too hard for us; then, and not until then, we must submit to the will of God, and be silent; and prepare ourselves for all the extremity of suffering and of misery," with a great deal more of the same strain.

With due submission to the profound sagacity of this prelate, who can smell popery at five hundred miles' distance, better than fanaticism just under his nose, I take leave to tell him, that this reproof to his friends for want of zeal, and clamour against popery, slavery, and the Pretender, is what they have not deserved. Are the pamphlets and papers daily published by the sublime authors of his party full of anything else? Are not the queen, the ministers, the majority of lords and commons, loudly taxed in print, with this charge against them at full length? Is it not the perpetual echo of every Whig coffeehouse and club? Have they not quartered Popery and the Pretender upon the peace and treaty of commerce; upon the possessing and quieting, and keeping, and demolishing of Dunkirk? Have they not clamoured, because the Pretender continued in France, and because he left it? Have they not reported that the town swarmed with many thousand Papists; when, upon search, there were never found so few of that religion in it before? If a clergyman preaches obedience to the higher powers, is he not immediately traduced as a Papist? Can mortal man do more? To deal plainly, my lord, your friends are not strong enough yet to make an insurrection, and it is unreasonable to expect one from them, until their neighbours be ready.

My lord, I have a little seriousness at heart upon this point, where your lordship affects to show so much. When you can prove, that one single word has ever dropped from any minister of state, in public or private, in favour of the Pretender, or his cause; when you can make it appear that in the course of this administration, since the queen thought fit to change her servants, there has one step been made toward weakening the Hanover title, or giving the least countenance to any other whatsoever; then, and not until then, go dry your chaff and stubble, give fire to the zeal of your faction, and reproach them with lukewarmness.

Fourthly, the bishop applies himself to the Tories in general; taking it for granted, after his charitable manner, that they are all ready prepared to introduce Popery. He puts an excuse into their mouths, by which they would endeavour to justify their change of religion: "Popery is not what it was before the Reformation: things are now much mended, and farther corrections might be expected, if we would enter into a treaty with them: in particular, they see the error of proceeding severely with heretics; so that there is no reason to apprehend the returns of such cruelties, as were practised an age and a half ago."

This, he assures us, is a plea offered by the Tories in defence of themselves, for going about at this juncture to establish the Popish religion among us: What argument does he bring to prove the fact itself?

Quibus indiciis, quo teste, probavit?
Nil horum: verbosa et grandis epistola venit.

Nothing but this tedious Introduction, wherein he supposes it all along as a thing granted. That

there might be a perfect union in the whole Christian church, is a blessing which every good man wishes, but no reasonable man can hope. That the more polite Roman Catholics have, in several places, given up some of their superstitious fopperies, particularly concerning legends, relics, and the like, is what nobody denies. But the material points in difference between us and them are universally retained and asserted in all their controversial writings. And if his lordship really thinks that every man who differs from him, under the name of a Tory, in some church and state opinions, is ready to believe transubstantiation, purgatory, the infallibility of pope or councils, to worship saints or angels, and the like; I can only pray God to enlighten his understanding, or graft in his heart the first principles of charity; a virtue which some people ought not by any means wholly to renounce, because it covers a multitude of sins.

Fifthly, the bishop applies himself to his own party in both Houses of Parliament, whom he exhorts to "guard their religion and liberty against all danger, at what distance soever it may appear. If they are absent and remiss on critical occasions;" that is to say, if they do not attend close next sessions, to vote upon all occasions whatever, against the proceedings of the queen and her ministry, "or if any views of advantage to themselves prevail on them:" in other words, if any of them vote for the bill of commerce, in hopes of a place or a pension, a title, or a garter; "God may work a deliverance for us another way," (that is to say, by inviting the Dutch,) "but they and their families," *i.e.*, those who are negligent or revolters, "shall perish;" by which is meant they shall be hanged, as well as the present ministry and

their abettors, as soon as we recover our power; "because they let in idolatry, superstition, and tyranny;" because they stood by and suffered the peace to be made, the bill of commerce to pass, and Dunkirk to lie undemolished longer than we expected, without raising a rebellion.

His last application is to the Tory clergy, a parcel of "blind, ignorant, dumb, sleeping, greedy, drunken dogs." * A pretty artful episcopal method is this, of calling his brethren as many injurious

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* The bishop's apostrophe is really extremely violent.

"But, in the last place, Those who are appointed to be the watchmen, who ought to give warning, and to lift up their voice as a trumpet, when they see those wolves ready to break in and devour the flock, have the heaviest account of all others to make, if they neglect their duty; much more if they betray their trust. If they are so set on some smaller matters, and are so sharpened upon that account, that they will not see their danger, nor awaken others to see it, and to fly from it; the guilt of those souls who have perished by their means, God will require at their hands. If they, in the view of any advantage to themselves, are silent when they ought to cry out day and night, they will fall under the character given by the prophet, of the watchmen in his time: 'They are blind, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber: Yea, they are greedy dogs, which can never have enough. And they are shepherds that cannot understand; they all look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter; that say, come, I will fetch wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink; to-morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant.'

"This is a lively description of such pastors as will not so much as study controversies, and that will not know the depth of Satan; that put the evil day far off, and, as the men in the days of Noah or Lot, live on at their ease, satisfying themselves in running round a circle of dry and dead performances; that do neither awaken themselves nor others. When the day of trial comes, what will they say? To whom will they fly for help? Their spirits will either sink within them, or they will swim with the tide. The cry will be, the Church, the Church, even when all is ruin and desolation."—*Burnet's History of the Reformation*, III. p. xxii.

names as he pleases. It is but quoting a text of Scripture, where the characters of evil men are described, and the thing is done: and at the same time the appearances of piety and devotion preserved. I would engage, with the help of a good Concordance, and the liberty of perverting holy writ, to find out as many injurious appellations, as the Englishman throws out in any of his politic papers, and apply them to those persons "who call good evil, and evil good;" to those who cry without cause, "Every man to his tent, O Israel! and to those who curse the queen in their hearts!"

These decent words, he tells us, make up a "lively description of such pastors as will not study controversy, nor know the depths of Satan." He means, I suppose, the controversy between us and the papists; for, as to the freethinkers and dissenters of every denomination, they are some of the best friends to the cause. Now I have been told, there is a body of that kind of controversy published by the London divines, which is not to be matched in the world. I believe likewise, there is a good number of the clergy at present thoroughly versed in that study; after which, I cannot but give my judgment, that it would be a very idle thing for pastors in general to busy themselves much in disputes against popery; it being a dry heavy employment of the mind at best, especially when (God be thanked) there is so little occasion for it, in the generality of parishes throughout the kingdom, and must be daily less and less by the just severity of the laws, and the utter aversion of our people from that idolatrous superstition.

If I might be so bold as to name those who have the honour to be of his lordship's party, I would venture to tell him, that pastors have much more occasion to study controversies against the

several classes of freethinkers and dissenters: the former (I beg his lordship's pardon for saying so) being a little worse than papists, and both of them more dangerous at present to our constitution both in church and state. Not that I think presbytery so corrupt a system of Christian religion as popery; I believe it is not above one-third as bad: but I think the Presbyterians, and their clans of other fanatics, or freethinkers and atheists that dangle after them, are as well inclined to pull down the present establishment of monarchy and religion, as any set of papists in Christendom; and, therefore, that our danger, as things now stand, is infinitely greater from our Protestant enemies; because they are much more able to ruin us, and full as willing. There is no doubt but that presbytery, and a commonwealth, are less formidable evils than popery, slavery, and the Pretender; for, if the fanatics were in power, I should be in more apprehension of being starved than burned. But, there are probably in England forty dissenters of all kinds, including their brethren the freethinkers, for one papist; and, allowing one papist to be as terrible as three dissenters, it will appear by arithmetic, that we are thirteen times and one-third more in danger of being ruined by the latter from the former.

The other qualification necessary for all pastors, if they will not be "blind, ignorant, greedy, drunken dogs," &c., is "to know the depths of Satan." This is harder than the former; that a poor gentleman ought not to be parson, vicar, or curate of a parish, except he be cunninger than the devil. I am afraid it will be difficult to remedy this defect, for one manifest reason, because whoever had only half the cunning of the devil, would never take up with a vicarage of ten pounds a-year, "to live on at his ease," as my lord expresses it; but seek out for

some better livelihood. His lordship is of a nation very much distinguished for that quality of cunning, (although they have a great many better,) and I think he was never accused for wanting his share. However, upon a trial of skill, I would venture to lay six to four on the devil's side, who must be allowed to be at least the older practitioner. Telling truth shames him, and resistance makes him fly; but to attempt outwitting him, is to fight him at his own weapon, and consequently no cunning at all. Another thing I would observe is, that a man may be "in the depths of Satan," without knowing them all; and such a man may be so far in Satan's depths as to be out of his own. One of the depths of Satan is to counterfeit an angel of light. Another, I believe, is, to stir up the people against their governors by false suggestions of danger. A third is, to be a prompter to false brethren, and to send wolves about in sheep's clothing. Sometimes he sends Jesuits about England in the habit and cant of fanatics; at other times, he has fanatic missionaries in the habits of ———. I shall mention but one more of Satan's depths; for I confess I know not the hundredth part of them; and that is, to employ his emissaries in crying out against remote imaginary dangers, by which we may be taken off from defending ourselves against those which are really just at our elbows.

But his lordship draws toward a conclusion, and bids us "look about, to consider the danger we are in before it is too late;" for he assures us, we are already "going into some of the worst parts of popery;" like the man who was so much in haste for his new coat, that he put it on, the wrong side out. "Auricular confession, priestly absolution, and the sacrifice of the mass," have made great progress in England, and nobody has observed it; several

other "popish points are carried higher with us than by the priests themselves:" and somebody, it seems, had the "impudence to propose a union with the Gallican church." * I have indeed heard, that Mr. Lesley † published a discourse to that purpose, which I have never seen; nor do I perceive the evil in proposing a union between any two churches in Christendom. Without doubt, Mr. Lesley is most unhappily misled in his politics; but if he be the author of the late tract against popery, ‡ he has given the world such a proof of his soundness in religion, as many a bishop ought to be proud of. I never saw the gentleman in my life: I know he is the son of a great and excellent prelate, who, upon several accounts, was one of the most extraordinary men of his age. Mr. Lesley has written many useful discourses upon several subjects, and has so well deserved of the Christian religion, and the church of England in particular, that, to accuse him of "impu-

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* Swift here disowns a charge loudly urged by the Whigs of the time against the high churchmen. There were, however, strong symptoms of a nearer approach on their part to the church of Rome. Hickes, the head of the Jacobite writers, had insinuated, that there was a proper sacrifice in the eucharist; Brett had published a Sermon on the Doctrine of Priestly Absolution as essential to Salvation; Dodwell had written against Lay-Baptism, and his doctrine at once excluded all the dissenters (whose teachers are held as laymen) from the pale of Christianity; and, upon the whole, there was a general disposition among the clergy to censure, if not the Reformation itself, at least the mode in which it was carried on.

† Charles Lesley, the celebrated nonjuror, the second son of Dr. John Lesley, Bishop of Clogher in Ireland. He published a Jacobite paper, called the Rehearsal, and was a strenuous assertor of divine right; but he was also so steady a Protestant, that he went to Bar-le-Duc to convert the Chevalier de St. George from the errors of Rome.

‡ The Case stated between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, 1713.

dence for proposing a union" in two very different faiths, is a style which I hope few will imitate. I detest Mr. Lesley's political principles, as much as his lordship can do for his heart; but I verily believe he acts from a mistaken conscience, and therefore I distinguish between the principles and the person. However, it is some mortification to me, when I see an avowed nonjuror contribute more to the confounding of popery, than could ever be done by a hundred thousand such introductions as this.

His lordship ends with discovering a small ray of comfort. "God be thanked, there are many among us that stand upon the watch-tower, and that give faithful warning; that stand in the breach, and make themselves a wall for their church and country; that cry to God day and night, and lie in the dust mourning before him, to avert those judgments that seem to hasten toward us. They search into the mystery of iniquity that is working among us, and acquaint themselves with that mass of corruption that is in popery." He prays, "that the number of these may increase, and that he may be of that number, ready either to die in peace, or to seal that doctrine he has been preaching above fifty years with his blood." This being his last paragraph, I have made bold to transcribe the most important parts of it. His design is to end, after the manner of orators, with leaving the strongest impression possible upon the minds of his hearers. A great breach is made; "the mystery of popish iniquity is working among us; may God avert those judgments that are hastening toward us! I am an old man, a preacher above fifty years, and I now expect, and am ready to die a martyr, for the doctrines I have preached." What an amiable idea does he here leave upon our minds,

of her majesty and her government! He has been poring so long upon Fox's Book of Martyrs, that he imagines himself living in the reign of Queen Mary, and is resolved to set up for a knight-errant against popery. Upon the supposition of his being in earnest, (which I am sure he is not,) it would require but a very little more heat of imagination to make a history of such a knight's adventures. What would he say to behold the fires kindled in Smithfield, and all over the town, on the seventeenth of November; to behold the pope borne in triumph on the shoulders of the people, with a cardinal on the one side, and the Pretender on the other? He would never believe it was Queen Elizabeth's day, but that of her persecuting sister: in short, how easily might a windmill be taken for the whore of Babylon, and a puppet-show for a popish procession?

But enthusiasm is none of his lordship's faculty. I am inclined to believe, he might be melancholy enough when he writ this Introduction. The despair, at his age, of seeing a faction restored, to which he has sacrificed so great a part of his life; the little success he can hope for, in case he should resume those high-church principles, in defence of which he first employed his pen; no visible expectation of removing to Farnham or Lambeth; and, lastly, the misfortune of being hated by every one, who either wears the habit, or values the profession of a clergyman;—no wonder such a spirit, in such a situation, is provoked beyond the regards of truth, decency, religion, or self-conviction. To do him justice, he seems to have nothing else left, but to cry out, halters, gibbets, faggots, inquisition, popery, slavery, and the Pretender. But, in the meantime, he little considers what a world of mischief he does to his cause. It

is very convenient for the present designs of that faction, to spread the opinion of our immediate danger from popery and the Pretender. His directors therefore ought, in my humble opinion, to have employed his lordship in publishing a book, wherein he should have affirmed, by the most solemn asseverations, that all things were safe and well; for the world has contracted so strong a habit of believing him backward, that I am confident nine parts in ten of those who have read or heard of his Introduction have slept in greater security ever since. It is like the melancholy tone of a watchman at midnight, who thumps with his pole as if some thief were breaking in; but you know by the noise that the door is fast.

However, he "thanks God there are many among us who stand in the breach." I believe they may; it is a breach of their own making, and they design to come forward, and storm, and plunder, if they be not driven back. "They make themselves a wall for their church and country." A south wall, I suppose, for all the best fruit of the church and country to be nailed on. Let us examine this metaphor. The wall of our church and country is built of those who love the constitution in both: our domestic enemies undermine some parts of the wall, and place themselves in the breach, and then they cry, "We are the wall!" We do not like such patchwork; they build with untempered mortar; nor can they ever cement with us, till they get better materials, and better workmen. God keep us from having our breaches made up with such rubbish! "They stand upon the watch-tower! they are indeed pragmatical enough to do so; but who assigned them that post, to give us false intelligence, to alarm us with false dangers, and send us to defend one gate,

while their accomplices are breaking in at another? "They cry to God, day and night, to avert the judgment of popery, which seems to hasten toward us." Then I affirm, they are hypocrites by day, and filthy dreamers by night: when they cry unto him, he will not hear them; for they cry against the plainest dictates of their own conscience, reason, and belief.

But, lastly, "They lie in the dust, mourning before him." Hang me, if I believe that, unless it be figuratively spoken. But, suppose it to be true, why do "they lie in the dust?" Because they love to raise it. For what do "they mourn?" Why, for power, wealth, and places. There let the enemies of the queen, and monarchy, and the church, lie and mourn, and lick the dust, like serpents, till they are truly sensible of their ingratitude, falsehood, disobedience, slander, blasphemy, sedition, and every evil work.

I cannot find in my heart to conclude, without offering his lordship a little humble advice upon some certain points.

First, I would advise him, if it be not too late in his life, to endeavour a little at mending his style, which is mighty defective in the circumstances of grammar, propriety, politeness, and smoothness.* I fancied at first it might be owing to the prevalence of his passion, as people sputter out nonsense for haste, when they are in a rage. And, indeed, I believe this piece before me has received some additional imperfections from that occasion. But whoever has heard his sermons, or read his other tracts, will find him very unhappy in the choice and disposition of his words, and, for want of variety,

* In Swift's notes on Burnet's History of his Own Times, he points out many instances of the deficiency here stated.

repeating them, especially the particles, in a manner very grating to an English ear. But I confine myself to this introduction, as his last work, where, endeavouring at rhetorical flowers, he gives us only bunches of thistles: of which I could present the reader with a plentiful crop; but I refer him to every page and line of the pamphlet itself.

Secondly, I would most humbly advise his lordship to examine a little into the nature of truth, and sometimes to hear what she says. I shall produce two instances among a hundred. When he asserts, that we are "now in more danger of popery than toward the end of King Charles the Second's reign;" and gives the broadest hints, that the queen, the ministry, the parliament, and the clergy, are just going to introduce it; I desire to know, whether he really thinks truth is of his side, or whether he be not sure she is against him? If the latter, then truth and he will be found in two different stories; and which are we to believe? Again, when he gravely advises the Tories not to "light the fires in Smithfield," and goes on in twenty places, already quoted, as if the bargain was made for popery and slavery to enter; I ask again, whether he has rightly considered the nature of truth? I desire to put a parallel case. Suppose his lordship should take it into his fancy to write and publish a letter to any gentleman, of no infamous character for his religion or morals; and there advise him, with great earnestness, not to rob or fire churches, ravish his daughter, or murder his father; show him the sin and the danger of these enormities; that, if he flattered himself he could escape in disguise, or bribe his jury, he was grievously mistaken; that he must, in all probability, forfeit his goods and chattels, die an ignominious death, and be cursed by posterity;—would not such

a gentleman justly think himself highly injured, although his lordship did not affirm, that the said gentleman had picklocks or combustibles ready; that he had attempted his daughter, and drawn his sword against his father in order to stab him; whereas, in the other case, this writer affirms over and over, that all attempts for introducing popery and slavery are already made, the whole business concerted, and that little less than a miracle can prevent our ruin.

Thirdly, I could heartily wish his lordship would not undertake to charge the opinions of one or two, and those probably nonjurors, upon the whole body of the nation that differs from him. Mr. Lesley writ a "Proposal for a Union with the Gallican Church:" somebody else has "carried the necessity of priesthood, in the point of baptism, farther than popery:" a third has "asserted the independency of the church on the state, and in many things arraigned the supremacy of the crown;" then he speaks in a dubious insinuating way, as if some other popish tenets had been already advanced: and at last concludes in this affected strain of despondency: "What will all these things end in? and on what design are they driven? Alas, it is too visible! it is as clear as the sun, that these authors are encouraged by the ministry, with a design to bring in popery; and in popery all these things will end."

I never was so uncharitable as to believe, that the whole party, of which his lordship professes himself a member, had a real formed design of establishing atheism among us. The reason why the Whigs have taken the atheists, or freethinkers, into their body, is, because they wholly agree in their political scheme, and differ very little in church power and discipline. However, I could turn the

argument against his lordship, with very great advantage, by quoting passages from fifty pamphlets, wholly made up of whiggism and atheism, and then conclude, "What will all these things end in? and on what design are they driven? Alas, it is too visible!"

Lastly, I would beg his lordship not to be so exceedingly outrageous upon the memory of the dead; because it is highly probable, that, in a very short time, he will be one of the number. He has, in plain words, given Mr. Wharton the character of a most malicious, revengeful, treacherous, lying, mercenary villain. To which I shall only say, that the direct reverse of this amiable description is what appears from the works of that most learned divine, and from the accounts given me by those who knew him much better than the bishop seems to have done. I meddle not with the moral part of his treatment. God Almighty forgive his lordship this manner of revenging himself! and then there will be but little consequence from an accusation which the dead cannot feel, and which none of the living will believe.

THE

IMPORTANCE OF THE GUARDIAN

CONSIDERED;

IN

A SECOND LETTER

TO THE

BAILIFF OF STOCKBRIDGE.

BY A FRIEND OF MR. STEELE.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1713.

ALTHOUGH the demolition of Dunkirk was one of the chief advantages stipulated for England by the peace of Utrecht, the court of France made some efforts to evade or suspend the performance of that article. Monsieur Tugghe was sent a deputy from the inhabitants of the place, to solicit the queen to spare at least the mole and harbour of Dunkirk. Being a person of that perseverance which his very name seems to imply, he was not satisfied with a single refusal, but presented a second memorial, of most ornate composition, in which he prays her majesty "to cause her thunderbolts to fall only on the martial works, which might have incurred her displeasure," but to spare "the mole and dikes, which, in their naked condition, could for the future be only an object of pity." Steele, who was then engaged in the conduct of the Guardian, took fire at the undaunted and reiterated

solicitations of Monsieur Tugghe; and, in No. 128, printed an animated reply to his memorial, in a letter to Nestor Ironside, signed English Tory. In this letter he desires Mr. Ironside to inform Monsieur Tugghe,

"That the British nation expect the immediate demolition of it.

"That the very common people know, that within three* months after the signing of the peace, the works toward the sea were to be demolished, and within three months after it, the works toward the land.

"That the said peace was signed the last of March, O.S.

"That the parliament has been told from the queen, that the equivalent for it is in the hands of the French king.

"That the Sieur Tugghe has the impudence to ask the queen to remit the most material part of the articles of peace betwixt her majesty and his master.

"That the British nation received more damage in their trade from the port of Dunkirk, than from almost all the ports of France, either in the Ocean or the Mediterranean."

The letter proceeds, in the same authoritative and earnest strain, to set forth the dangers of delay in this matter; and it is no less than thrice reiterated, that "the British nation *expect* the immediate demolition of Dunkirk." The Examiner, and other Tory writers, thundered against the mode of expression adopted by the Guardian, as insulting to the queen, and amounting to little less than treason. Steele, who was just returned one of the members for the borough of Stockbridge, in Dorsetshire, for the new parliament, then about to meet, reprinted the letter, in a pamphlet, entitled, "The Importance of Dunkirk considered, in a Defence of the Guardian, in a Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge."

Swift, whose ancient friendship for Steele had long given way to political antipathy, and who, perhaps, beheld with no favourable eye his promotion as a member of the legislature, took an opportunity to humble any pride he might derive from his seat in parliament, by the following violent attack upon his person, as well as his principles.

This pamphlet was, with great difficulty, recovered by the exertions of Mr. Nichols, who advertised for it without effect for some time. It was written after Swift's return from Ireland in 1713, and seems to have been published just before the sitting of parliament in that year.

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* A mistake for "two" months.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

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MR. STEELE, in his "Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge," has given us leave "to treat him as we think fit, as he is our brother scribbler; but not to attack him as an honest man," p. 40. That is to say, he allows us to be his critics, but not his answerers; and he is altogether in the right, for there is in his letter much to be criticised, and little to be answered. The situation and importance of Dunkirk are pretty well known. Mons. Tugghe's memorial, published and handed about by the Whigs,* is allowed to be a very trifling paper; and, as to the immediate demolishment of that town, Mr. Steele pretends to offer no other argument but the expectations of the people, which is a figurative speech, naming the tenth part for the whole; as Bradshaw told King Charles I., that the people of England expected justice against him. I have therefore entered very little into the subject he pretends to treat; but have considered his pamphlet partly as a critic, and partly as a commentator; which, I think, is "to treat him only as my brother scribbler," according to the permission he has graciously allowed me.

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* Toland, the deist, in a tract, entitled, "Dunkirk, or Dover," retorted this charge; alleging, that Tugghe's memorial was printed and hawked through the streets by express authority of an agent of the ministers.

TO

THE WORSHIPFUL

MR. JOHN SNOW,

BAILIFF OF STOCKBRIDGE.

SIR,

I HAVE just been reading a twelvepenny pamphlet about Dunkirk, addressed to your worship from one of your intended representatives; and I find several passages in it which want explanation, especially to you in the country: for we in town have a way of talking and writing, which is very little understood beyond the bills of mortality. I have therefore made bold to send you here a second letter, by way of comment upon the former.

In order to this, "You, Mr. Bailiff, and at the same time the whole borough," may please to take notice, that London writers often put titles to their papers and pamphlets, which have little or no reference to the main design of the work: so, for instance, you will observe in reading, that the letter called, "The Importance of Dunkirk," is wholly taken up in showing you the importance of Mr. Steele; wherein it was indeed reasonable your

borough should be informed, which had chosen him to represent them.

I would therefore place the importance of this gentleman before you in a clearer light than he has given himself the trouble to do, without running into his early history, because I owe him no malice.

Mr. Steele is author of two tolerable plays,* or at least of the greatest part of them; which, added to the company he kept, and to the continual conversation and friendship of Mr. Addison, has given him the character of a wit. To take the height of his learning, you are to suppose a lad just fit for the university, and sent early from thence into the wide world, where he followed every way of life that might least improve, or preserve the rudiments he had got.† He has no invention, nor is master of a tolerable style; his chief talent is humour, which he sometimes discovers both in writing and discourse; for, after the first bottle, he is no disagreeable companion. I never knew him taxed with ill nature, which has made me wonder how ingratitude came to be his prevailing vice; and I am apt to think it proceeds more from some unaccountable sort of instinct than premeditation. Being the most imprudent man alive, he never follows the advice of his friends, but is wholly at the mercy of fools or knaves, or hurried away by his own caprice; by which he has committed more absurdities in economy, friendship, love, duty, good manners, politics, religion, and writing, than ever

* He had already written three—the Funeral, the Tender Husband, and the Lying Lover.

† Steele was educated at the Charter-House; but, instead of going to the University, he entered as a private gentleman in the Horse-Guards, from which rank he was raised to be an ensign, and secretary to Lord Cutts.

fell to one man's share. He was appointed gazetteer by Mr. Harley, (then secretary of state,) at the recommendation of Mr. Maynwaring, with a salary of three hundred pounds; was a commissioner of stamped paper, of equal profit; and had a pension of a hundred pounds per annum, as a servant* to the late Prince George.

This gentleman, whom I have now described to you, began, between four and five years ago, to publish a paper thrice a-week, called the Tatler. It came out under the borrowed name of Isaac Bickerstaff, and, by contribution of his ingenious friends, grew to have a great reputation, and was equally esteemed by both parties, because it meddled with neither. But, some time after Sacheverel's trial, when things began to change their aspect, Mr. Steele, whether by the command of his superiors, his own inconstancy, or the absence of his assistants, would needs corrupt his paper with politics; published one or two most virulent libels, and chose for his subject even that individual, Mr. Harley, who had made him gazetteer.† But, his finger and thumb not proving strong enough to stop the general torrent, there was a universal change made in the ministry; and the two new secretaries, not thinking it decent to employ a man in their office who had acted so infamous a part, Mr. Steele, to avoid being discarded, thought fit to resign his place of gazetteer. Upon which occasion, I cannot forbear relating a passage "to you, Mr. Bailiff, and the rest of the borough," which discovers a very peculiar turn of thought in this

* Gentleman Usher.

† The paper which gave most offence was that in which a parallel is drawn between the affairs of the stage and of the kingdom. It is supposed to have been written by Maynwaring, and is No. 193 of the Tatler.

gentleman you have chosen to represent you. When Mr. Maynwaring * recommended him to the employment of gazetteer, Mr. Harley, out of an inclination to encourage men of parts, raised that office from fifty pounds to three hundred pounds a-year. Mr. Steele, according to form, came to give his new patron thanks; but the secretary, who would rather confer a hundred favours than receive acknowledgments for one, said to him, in a most obliging manner, "Pray, Sir, do not thank me; but thank Mr. Maynwaring." Soon after Mr. Steele's quitting that employment, he complained to a gentleman in office of the hardship put upon him in being forced to quit his place; that he knew Mr. Harley was the cause; that he never had done Mr. Harley any injury, nor received any obligation from him. The gentleman, amazed at this discourse, put him in mind of those libels published in his Tatlers. Mr. Steele said, he was only the publisher, for they had been sent him by other hands. The gentleman thinking this a very monstrous kind of excuse, and not allowing it, Mr. Steele then said, "Well, I have libelled him, and he has turned me out; and so we are equal." But neither would this be granted; and he was asked, whether the place of gazetteer were not an obligation? "No," said he, "not from Mr. Harley; for, when I went to thank him, he forbade me, and said, I must only thank Mr. Maynwaring."

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* Arthur Maynwaring, a man of taste and letters at this period. His original principles were violently Jacobitical; but, becoming a commissioner of the customs, and auditor of the imposts under Godolphin's administration, he became an equally keen Whig, and conducted the Medley, by which paper the Examiner was often successfully opposed. He died in 1712, leaving his fortune to be divided between his sister, Mrs. Oldfield, and a son whom he had by that celebrated actress.

But I return, Mr. Bailiff, to give you a farther account of this gentleman's importance. In less, I think, than two years, the town and he grew weary of the Tatler: he was silent for some months; and then a daily paper came from him and his friends, under the name of Spectator, with good success; this being likewise dropped after a certain period, he has of late appeared under the style of Guardian, which he has now likewise quitted for that of Englishman; but, having chosen other assistance, or trusting more to himself, his papers have been very coldly received, which has made him fly for relief to the never-failing source of faction.

In the beginning of August last, Mr. Steele writes a letter to Nestor Ironside, Esq., and subscribes it with the name of "English Tory." On the 7th, the said Ironside publishes this letter in the Guardian. How shall I explain this matter to you, Mr. Bailiff, and your brethren of the borough? You must know then, that Mr. Steele and Mr. Ironside are the same persons, because there is a great relation between Iron and Steel; and English Tory and Mr. Steele are the same persons, because there is no relation at all between Mr. Steele and an English Tory; so that, to render this matter clear to the very meanest capacities, Mr. English Tory, the very same person with Mr. Steele, writes a letter to Nestor Ironside, Esq., who is the same person with English Tory, who is the same person with Mr. Steele: and Mr. Ironside, who is the same person with English Tory, publishes the letter written by English Tory, who is the same person with Mr. Steele, who is the same person with Mr. Ironside. This letter, written and published by these three gentlemen, who are one of your representatives, complains of a printed paper in French and English, lately handed about the town, and

given gratis to passengers in the streets at noon day; the title whereof is, "A most humble Address, or Memorial, presented to her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, by the Deputy of the Magistrates of Dunkirk." This deputy, it seems, is called the Sieur Tugghe. Now, the remarks made upon this memorial by Mr. English Tory, in his letter to Mr. Ironside, happening to provoke the Examiner* and another pamphleteer,† they both fell hard upon Mr. Steele, charging him with insolence and ingratitude toward the queen. But Mr. Steele, nothing daunted, writes a long letter "to you, Mr. Bailiff, and at the same time to the whole borough," in his own vindication. But, there being several difficult passages in this letter, which may want clearing up, I here send you and the borough my annotation upon it.

Mr. Steele, in order to display his importance

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* "I believe," says the Examiner, speaking of the Guardian, then just published, "I may challenge all the nations of the world, and all the histories of this nation for a thousand years past, to show us an instance so flagrant, as what we have now before us, viz., whenever a subject, nay a servant under a salary, and favoured, in spite of ill behaviour past, with a considerable employ in the government, treated his sovereign in such a manner as the Guardian has done the person of the queen, and went unpunished."

† The other pamphlet is entitled, "The Honour and Prerogative of the Queen's Majesty Vindicated and Defended against the unexampled Insolence of the Author of the Guardian; in a Letter from a Country Whig to Mr. Steele." It is even more scurrilous in its charge than the Examiner, and comments thus upon the words, "the British nation expect the immediate demolition of Dunkirk." "Now," says he, "read the words, what is it but thus: 'Look you, madam, your majesty had best take care that Dunkirk be demolished, or else,' &c., and again, 'Madam, we expect that Dunkirk be demolished immediately.' Just thus an imperious planter at Barbadoes speaks to a negro slave: 'Look you, sirrah, I expect this sugar to be ground, and look to it that it be done forthwith. It is enough to tell you *I expect it, or else,*' &c., and then he holds up his stick at him."

to your borough, begins his letter by letting you know "he is no small man," p. 1; because, in the pamphlets he has sent you down, you will "find him spoken of more than once in print." It is indeed a great thing to be "spoken of in print," and must needs make a mighty sound at Stockbridge among the electors. However, if Mr. Steele has really sent you down all the pamphlets and papers printed since the dissolution, you will find he is not the only person of importance; I could instance Abel Roper, Mr. Marten the surgeon, Mr. John Moore the apothecary at the Pestle and Mortar, Sir William Read, her majesty's oculist, and, of later name and fame, Mr. John Smith the corn-cutter,* with several others who are "spoken of more than once in print." Then he recommends to your perusal, and sends you a copy of, a printed paper given *gratis* about the streets, which is the Memorial of Monsieur Tugghe, above mentioned, "Deputy of the magistrates of Dunkirk," to desire her majesty not to demolish the said town. He tells you how insolent a thing it is, that such a paper should be publicly distributed, and he tells you true; but these insolences are very frequent among the Whigs. One of their present topics for clamour is Dunkirk: here is a memorial said to be presented to the queen by an obscure Frenchman; one of your party gets a copy, and immediately prints it by contribution, and delivers it gratis to the people; which answers several ends. First, It is meant to lay an odium on the ministry. Secondly, If the town be soon demolished, Mr. Steele and his faction have the merit; their arguments and threatenings have frightened my lord-treasurer.

* Abel Roper was publisher of the Post-Boy. The others were advertising quacks.

Thirdly, If the demolishing should be farther deferred, the nation will be fully convinced of his lordship's intention to bring over the Pretender.

Let us turn over fourteen pages, which contain the memorial itself, and which is indeed as idle a one as ever I read; we come now to Mr. Steele's letter, under the name of English Tory, to Mr. Ironside. In the preface to this letter, p. 15, he has these words: "It is certain there is not much danger in delaying the demolition of Dunkirk during the life of his present Most Christian Majesty, who is renowned for the most inviolable regard to treaties; but that pious prince is aged, and in case of his decease," &c. This preface is in the words of Mr. Ironside, a professed Whig; and perhaps you in the country will wonder to hear a zealot of your own party celebrating the French king for his piety and his religious performance of treaties. For this, I can assure you, is not spoken in jest, or to be understood by contrary. There is a wonderful resemblance between that prince and the party of Whigs among us. Is he for arbitrary government? So are they. Has he persecuted Protestants? So have the Whigs. Did he attempt to restore King James and his pretended son? They did the same. Would he have Dunkirk surrendered to him? This is what they desire. Does he call himself the Most Christian? The Whigs assume the same title, though their leaders deny Christianity. Does he break his promises? Did they ever keep theirs?

From the 16th to the 38th page, Mr. Steele's pamphlet is taken up with a copy of his letter to Mr. Ironside; the remarks of the Examiner and another author upon that letter; the hydrography of some French and English ports, and his answer to Mr. Tugghe's memorial. The bent of his dis-

course is, in appearance, to show of what prodigious consequence to the welfare of England the surrender of Dunkirk was. But here, Mr. Bailiff, you must be careful; for all this is said in raillery; for you may easily remember, that when the town was first yielded to the queen, the Whigs declare it was of no consequence at all, that the French could easily repair it after the demolition, or fortify another a few miles off, which would be of more advantage to them. So that what Mr. Steele tells you, of the prodigious benefit that will accrue to England by destroying this port, is only suited to present junctures and circumstances. For, if Dunkirk should now be represented as insignificant as when it was first put into her majesty's hands, it would signify nothing whether it were demolished or not, and consequently one principal topic of clamour would fall to the ground.

In Mr. Steele's answer to Monsieur Tugghe's arguments against the demolishing of Dunkirk, I have not observed anything, that so much deserves your peculiar notice, as the great eloquence of your new member, and his wonderful faculty of varying his style, which he calls "proceeding like a man of great gravity and business," p. 31. He has ten arguments of Tugghe's to answer; and because he will not go in the old beaten road, like a parson of a parish, first, secondly, thirdly, &c., his manner is this:

In answer to the sieur's first.
As to the sieur's second.
As to his third.
As to the sieur's fourth.
As to Mr. Deputy's fifth.
As to the sieur's sixth.
As to this agent's seventh.

As to the sieur's eighth.
As to his ninth.
As to the memorialist's tenth.

You see every second expression is more or less diversified, to avoid the repetition of, "As to the sieur's," &c., and there is the tenth into the bargain. I could heartily wish Monsieur Tugghe had been able to find ten arguments more, and thereby given Mr. Steele an opportunity of showing the utmost variations our language would bear, in so momentous a trial.

Mr. Steele tells you, "That having now done with his foreign enemy, Monsieur Tugghe, he must face about to his domestic foes, who accuse him of ingratitude, and insulting his prince, while he is eating her bread."

To do him justice, he acquits himself pretty tolerably of this last charge: for he assures you, he gave up his stamped paper office, and pension as gentleman usher, before he wrote that letter to himself in the Guardian; so that he had already received his salary, and spent his money, and consequently the bread was eaten at least a week before he would offer to insult his prince: so that the folly of the Examiner's objecting ingratitude to him upon this article is manifest to all the world.*

* Steele's exculpation deserved more candid interpretation. "The Examiner accuses me of ingratitude, as being actually under salary, when I writ the letter to the Guardian, but he is mistaken in that particular; for I had resigned, not only my office in the stamp-duties, but also my pension as servant to his royal highness, which her majesty hath been graciously pleased to continue to the family of that excellent prince. I divested myself of all that I was so happy as to enjoy by her majesty's goodness and favour, before I would presume to write anything which was so apparently an advertisement to those employed in her service."

But he tells you, he has quitted those employments, to render him more useful to his queen and country, in the station you have honoured him with. That, no doubt, was the principal motive; however, I shall venture to add some others. First, The Guardian apprehended it impossible that the ministry would let him keep his place much longer, after the part he had acted for above two years past. Secondly, Mr. Ironside said publicly, that he was ashamed to be obliged any longer to a person (meaning the lord-treasurer) whom he had used so ill: for, it seems, a man ought not to use his benefactors ill above two years and a half. Thirdly, The Sieur Steele appeals for protection to you, Mr. Bailiff, from others of your denomination, who would have carried him somewhere else, if you had not relieved him, by your *habeas corpus* to St. Stephen's Chapel. Fourthly, Mr. English Tory found, by calculating the life of a ministry, that it has lasted above three years, and is near expiring; he resolved, therefore, to "strip off the very garments spotted with the flesh," and be wholly regenerate against the return of his old masters.

In order to serve all these ends, your borough has honoured him (as he expresses it) with choosing him to represent you in parliament; and, it must be owned, he has equally honoured you. Never was borough more happy in suitable representatives, than you are in Mr. Steele and his colleague;* nor were ever representatives more happy in a suitable borough.

When Mr. Steele talked of "laying before her majesty's ministry, that the nation has a strict eye upon their behaviour with relation to Dunkirk," p. 39; did not you, Mr. Bailiff, and your brethren of

* Thomas Broderick, Esq.

the borough, presently imagine he had drawn up a sort of counter-memorial to that of Monsieur Tugghe, and presented it in form to my lord-treasurer, or a secretary of state? I am confident you did; but this comes by not understanding the town. You are to know, then, that Mr. Steele publishes every day a penny paper to be read in coffeehouses, and get him a little money. This, by a figure of speech, he calls "laying things before the ministry," who seem at present a little too busy to regard such memorials; and, I dare say, never saw his paper, unless he sent it by the penny-post.

Well, but he tells you, "he cannot offer against the Examiner, and his other adversary, reason and argument, without appearing void of both."—*Ibid.* What a singular situation of the mind is this! How glad should I be to hear a man "offer reasons and argument, and yet at the same time appear void of both!" But this whole paragraph is of a peculiar strain; the consequences so just and natural, and such a propriety in thinking, as few authors ever arrive at. "Since it has been the fashion to run down men of much greater consequence than I am; I will not bear the accusation."—*Ibid.* This, I suppose, is "to offer reasons and arguments, and yet appear void of both." And, in the next lines, "These writers shall treat me as they think fit, as I am their brother-scribbler; but I shall not be so unconcerned when they attack me as an honest man," p. 40. And how does he defend himself? "I shall therefore inform them, that it is not in the power of a private man to hurt the prerogative," &c. Well; I shall treat him only as a brother-scribbler; and I guess he will hardly be attacked as an honest man: but if his meaning be, that his honesty ought not to be attacked, because he "has no power to hurt the honour and prerogative of the

crown without being punished;" he will make an admirable reasoner in the House of Commons.

But all this wise argumentation was introduced only to close the paragraph, by hauling in a fact, which he relates to you and your borough, in order to quiet the minds of the people, and express his duty and gratitude to the queen. The fact is this; "that her majesty's honour is in danger of being lost, by her ministers tolerating villains without conscience to abuse the greatest instruments of honour and glory to our country, the most wise and faithful managers, and the most pious, disinterested, generous, and self-denying patriots;" and the instances he produces are, the Duke of Marlborough, the late Earl of Godolphin, and about two-thirds of the bishops.

Mr. Bailiff, I cannot debate this matter at length, without putting you, and the rest of my countrymen who will be at the expence, to sixpence charge extraordinary. The duke and earl were both removed from their employments; and I hope you have too great a respect for the queen, to think it was done for nothing. The former was at the head of many great actions; and he has received plentiful oblations of praise and profit: yet, having read all that ever was objected against him by the Examiner, I will undertake to prove every syllable of it true, particularly that famous attempt to be general for life. The Earl of Godolphin is dead, and his faults may sojourn with him in the grave, till some historian shall think fit to revive part of them, for instruction and warning to posterity. But it grieved me to the soul, to see so many good epithets bestowed by Mr. Steele upon the bishops: nothing has done more hurt to that sacred order for some years past, than to hear some prelates extolled by Whigs, dissenters, republicans, socinians,

and, in short, by all who are enemies to episcopacy. God, in his mercy, for ever keep our prelates from deserving the praises of such panegyrists.

Mr. Steele is discontented that the ministry have not "called the Examiner to account as well as the Flying-Post." I will inform you, Mr. Bailiff, how that matter stands. The author of the Flying-Post has, thrice a-week, for above two years together, published the most impudent reflections upon all the present ministry, upon all their proceedings, and upon the whole body of Tories. The Examiner, on the other side, writing in defence of those whom her majesty employs in her greatest affairs, and of the cause they are engaged in, has always borne hard upon the Whigs, and now and then upon some of their leaders. Now, Sir, we reckon here, that, supposing the persons on both sides to be of equal intrinsic worth, it is more impudent, immoral, and criminal, to reflect on a majority in power, than a minority out of power. Put the case, that an odd rascally Tory in your borough should presume to abuse your worship, who, in the language of Mr. Steele, are first minister, and the majority of your brethren, sending two such Whig representatives up to parliament; and, on the other side, that an honest Whig should stand in your defence, and fall foul on the Tories; would you equally resent the proceedings of both, and let your friend and enemy sit in the stocks together? Hearken to another case, Mr. Bailiff; suppose your worship, during your annual administration, should happen to be kicked and cuffed by a parcel of Tories; would not the circumstance of your being a magistrate make the crime the greater, than if the like insults were committed on an ordinary Tory shopkeeper, by a company of honest Whigs? What bailiff would venture to arrest Mr. Steele, now he has the

honour to be your representative? and what bailiff ever scrupled it before? *

You must know, Sir, that we have several ways here of abusing one another, without incurring the danger of the law. First, we are careful never to print a man's name out at length; but, as I do, that of Mr. St—le: so that, although everybody alive knows whom I mean, the plaintiff can have no redress in any court of justice. Secondly, by putting cases: thirdly, by insinuations; fourthly, by celebrating the actions of others, who acted directly contrary to the persons we would reflect on; fifthly, by nicknames, either commonly known or stamped for the purpose, which everybody can tell how to apply. Without going on farther, it will be enough to inform you, that by some of the ways I have already mentioned, Mr. Steele gives you to understand, that the queen's honour is blasted by the actions of her present ministers; that "her prerogative is disgraced by creating a dozen peers, who, by their votes, turned a point upon which your all depended; that these ministers made the queen lay down her conquering arms, and deliver herself up to be vanquished; that they made her majesty betray her allies, by ordering her army to face about, and leave them in the moment of distress; that the present ministers are men of poor and narrow conceptions, self-interested, and without benevolence to mankind, and were brought into her majesty's favour for the sins of the nation: and only think what they may do, not what they ought to do," p. 43. This is the character given by Mr. Steele of those persons whom her majesty has thought fit to place in the highest stations of the

* This was a severe, though ungenerous, subject of raillery, to which poor Steele lay but too open.

kingdom, and to trust with the management of her most weighty affairs: and this is the gentleman who cries out, "Where is honour? where is government? where is prerogative?" p. 40: because the Examiner has sometimes dealt freely with those whom the queen has thought fit to discard, and the parliament to censure.

But Mr. Steele thinks it highly dangerous to the prince, that any man should be hindered from "offering his thoughts upon public affairs;" and resolves to do it, "though with the loss of her majesty's favour," p. 45. If a clergyman offers to preach obedience to the higher powers, and proves it by Scripture, Mr. Steele and his fraternity immediately cry out, "What have parsons to do with politics?" I ask, What shadow of pretence has he to offer his crude thoughts in matters of state? to print and publish them? "to lay them before the queen and ministry?" and to reprove both for maladministration? How did he acquire these abilities of directing in the councils of princes? Was it from **publishing*** Tatlers and Spectators, and writing now and then a Guardian? was it from his being a soldier, alchemist,† gazetteer, commissioner of stamped papers, or gentleman usher? No; but he insists it is every man's right to find fault with the administration in print, whenever they please; and therefore you, Mr. Bailiff, and as many of your brethren in the borough as can write and read, may publish pamphlets, and "lay them before the queen and ministry," to show your utter dislike

* Steele had the affectation of using the black letter, to mark the most emphatic parts of his title-pages, as in that of the Crisis.

† Sir Richard Steele attempted to enrich himself by the discovery of the philosopher's stone, and by several projects scarcely less chimerical. His laboratory is said to have been at Poplar, near London.

of all their proceedings; and for this reason, because you "can certainly see and apprehend, with your own eyes and understanding, those dangers which the ministers do not."

One thing I am extremely concerned about, that Mr. Steele resolves, as he tells you, p. 46, when he comes into the House, "to follow no leaders, but vote according to the dictates of his conscience." He must, at that rate, be a very useless member to his party, unless his conscience be already cut out and shaped for their service, which I am ready to believe it is, if I may have leave to judge from the whole tenor of his life. I would only have his friends be cautious, not to reward him too liberally; for, as it was said of Cranmer, "Do the archbishop an ill turn, and he is your friend for ever." So I do affirm of your member, "Do Mr. Steele a good turn, and he is your enemy for ever."

I had like to let slip a very trivial matter which I should be sorry to have done. In reading this pamphlet, I observed several mistakes, but knew not whether to impute them to the author or printer; till, turning to the end, I found there was only one erratum, thus set down: "Pag. 45, line 28, for *admonition* read *advertisement.*" This (to imitate Mr. Steele's propriety of speech) is a very old practice among new writers, to make a wilful mistake, and then put it down as an erratum. The word is brought in upon this occasion to convince all the world that he was not guilty of ingratitude, by reflecting on the queen when he was actually under salary, as the Examiner affirms; he assures you, he "had resigned and divested himself of all, before he would presume to write anything which was so apparently an admonition to those employed in her majesty's service." In case the Examiner should find fault with this word, he might appeal to

the erratum; and having formerly been gazetteer, he conceived he might very safely venture to advertise.

You are to understand, Mr. Bailiff, that, in the great rebellion against King Charles I., there was a distinction found out between the personal and political capacity of the prince; by the help of which, those rebels professed to fight for the king, while the great guns were discharging against Charles Stuart. After the same manner, Mr. Steele distinguishes between the personal and political prerogative. He does not care to trust this jewel "to the will, and pleasure, and passion, of her majesty," p. 48. If I am not mistaken, the crown jewels cannot be alienated by the prince; but I always thought the prince could wear them during his reign, else they had as good be in the hands of the subject; so, I conceive, her majesty may and ought to wear the prerogative; that it is hers during life, and she ought to be so much the more careful, neither to soil nor diminish it, for that very reason, because it is by law unalienable. But what must we do with this prerogative, according to the notion of Mr. Steele? It must not be trusted with the queen, because Providence has given her will, pleasure, and passion. Her ministers must not act by the authority of it; for then Mr. Steele will cry out, "What? Are majesty and ministry consolidated? and must there be no distinction between the one and the other?" p. 46. He tells you, p. 48, "The prerogative attends the crown;" and, therefore, I suppose, must lie in the Tower, to be shown for twelvepence, but never produced, except at a coronation, or passing an act. "Well, but," says he, "a whole ministry may be impeached and condemned by the House of Commons, without the prince's suffering by it." And what follows? Why,

therefore, a single burgess of Stockbridge, before he gets into the House, may at any time revile a whole ministry in print, before he knows whether they are guilty of any one neglect of duty, or breach of trust!

I am willing to join issue with Mr. Steele in one particular; which perhaps may give you some diversion. He is taxed, by the Examiner and others, for an insolent expression, that the British nation expects the immediate demolition of Dunkirk. He says, the word EXPECT * was meant to the ministry, and not to the queen; "but that, however, for argument sake, he will suppose those words were addressed immediately to the queen." Let me then likewise, for argument sake, suppose a very ridiculous thing, that Mr. Steele were admitted to her majesty's sacred person, to tell his own story, with his letter to you, Mr. Bailiff, in his hand, to have recourse to upon occasion. I think his speech must be in these terms:

"MADAM,

"I Richard Steele, publisher of the Tatler and Spectator, late gazetteer, commissioner of stamped papers, and pensioner to your majesty, now burgess elect of Stockbridge, do see and apprehend, with my own eyes and understanding, the imminent danger that attends the delay of the demolition of Dunkirk, which I believe your ministers, whose greater concern it is, do not: for, madam, the thing is not done; my lord-treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, my fellow-subjects, under whose immediate direction it is, are careless, and overlook it, or something worse; I

* Steele says in the Guardian, No. 160, "I must confess that I write with fear and trembling, ever since that ingenious person, the Examiner, in his little pamphlet, which was to make way for one of his following papers, found out treason in the word *expect*."

mean, they design to sell it to France, or make use of it to bring in the Pretender. This is clear, from their suffering Mr. Tugghe's memorial to be published without punishing the printer. Your majesty has told us, that the equivalent for Dunkirk is already in the French King's hands; therefore all obstacles are removed on the part of France; and I, though a mean fellow, give your majesty to understand, in the best method I can take, and from the sincerity of my grateful heart, that the British nation expects the immediate demolition of Dunkirk; as you hope to preserve your person, crown, and dignity, and the safety and welfare of the people committed to your charge."

I have contracted such a habit of treating princes familiarly, by reading the pamphlets of Mr. Steele and his fellows, that I am tempted to suppose her majesty's answer to this speech might be as follows:

"Mr. Richard Steele, late gazetteer, &c.

"I do not conceive that any of your titles empower you to be my director, or to report to me the expectations of my people. I know their expectations better than you; they love me, and will trust me. My ministers were of my own free choice; I have found them wise and faithful; and whoever calls them fools or knaves, designs indirectly an affront to myself. I am under no obligations to demolish Dunkirk, but to the Most Christian King; if you come here as an orator from that prince to demand it in his name, where are your powers? If not, let it suffice you to know, that I have my reasons for deferring it; and that the clamours of a faction shall not be a rule by which I or my servants are to proceed."

Mr. Steele tells you, "his adversaries are so unjust, they will not take the least notice of what led him into the necessity of writing his letter to

the Guardian." And how is it possible any mortal should know all his necessities? Who can guess, whether this necessity were imposed on him by his superiors, or by the itch of party, or by the mere want of other matter to furnish out a Guardian?

But Mr. Steele "has had a liberal education, and knows the world as well as the ministry does, and will therefore speak on, whether he offends them or no, and though their clothes be ever so new, when he thinks his queen and country is" (or, as a grammarian would express it, are) "ill treated," p. 50.

It would be good to hear Mr. Steele explain himself upon this phrase of "knowing the world;" because it is a science which maintains abundance of pretenders. Every idle young rake, who understands how to pick up a wench, or bilk a hackney coachman, or can call the players by their names, and is acquainted with five or six faces in the chocolate-house, will needs pass for a man that "knows the world." In the like manner Mr. Steele, who, from some few sprinklings of rudimental literature, proceeded a gentleman of the horse guards, thence by several degrees to be an ensign and an alchemist, where he was wholly conversant with the lower part of mankind, thinks he "knows the world" as well as the prime minister; and, upon the strength of that knowledge, will needs direct her majesty in the weightiest matters of government.

And now, Mr. Bailiff, give me leave to inform you, that this long letter of Mr. Steele, filled with quotations and a clutter about Dunkirk, was wholly written for the sake of the six last pages, taken up in vindicating himself directly, and vilifying the queen and ministry by innuendoes. He apprehends, that "some representations have been given of him in your town, as, that a man of so small a fortune as he must have secret views or supports, which

could move him to leave his employments," &c., p. 56. He answers by owning "he has indeed very particular views; for he is animated in his conduct by justice and truth, and benevolence to mankind," p. 57. He has given up his employments, because "he values no advantages above the conveniences of life, but as they tend to the service of the public." It seems, he could not "serve the public" as a pensioner, or commissioner of stamped paper; and therefore gave them up, to sit in parliament, "out of charity to his country, and to contend for liberty," p. 58. He has transcribed the common-places of some canting moralist *de contemptu mundi, et fuga seculi;* and would put them upon you as rules derived from his own practice.

Here is a most miraculous and sudden reformation, which I believe can hardly be matched in history or legend. And Mr. Steele, not unaware how slow the world was of belief, has thought fit to anticipate all objection; he foresees that "prostituted pens will entertain a pretender to such reformations with a recital of his own faults and infirmities; but he is prepared for such usage, and gives himself up to all nameless authors, to be treated as they please," p. 59.

It is certain, Mr. Bailiff, that no man breathing can pretend to have arrived at such a sublime pitch of virtue as Mr. Steele, without some tendency in the world to suspend at least their belief of the fact, till time and observation shall determine. But, I hope, few writers will be so prostitute as to trouble themselves with "the faults and infirmities" of Mr. Steele's past life, with what he somewhere else calls "the sins of his youth,*" and in one of his late papers, confesses to have been numerous enough.

* See the Guardian, No. 53.

A shifting scambling scene of youth, attended with poverty and ill company, may put a man of no ill inclinations upon many extravagancies, which, as soon as they are left off, are easily pardoned and forgotten. Besides, I think, popish writers tell us, that the greatest sinners make the greatest saints; but so very quick a sanctification, and carried to so prodigious a height, will be apt to rouse the suspicion of infidels, especially when they consider that this pretence of his to so romantic a virtue, is only advanced by way of solution to that difficult problem, "Why he has given up his employments?" And according to the new philosophy, they will endeavour to solve it by some easier and shorter way. For example, the question is put, Why Mr. Steele gives up his employment and pension at this juncture? I must here repeat, with some enlargement, what I said before on this head. These unbelieving gentlemen will answer,

First, That a new commission was every day expected for the stamped paper, and he knew his name would be left out; and therefore his resignation would be an appearance of virtue cheaply bought.

Secondly, He dreaded the violence of creditors, against which his employments were no manner of security.

Thirdly, Being a person of great sagacity, he has some foresight of a change, from the usual age of a ministry, which is now almost expired; from the little misunderstandings that have been reported sometimes to happen among the men in power; from the bill of commerce being rejected, and from some horrible expectations, wherewith his party have been deceiving themselves and their friends abroad for about two years past.*

* Alluding to the state of the Queen's health.

Fourthly, He hopes to come into all the perquisites of his predecessor Ridpath,* and be the principal writer of his faction, where everything is printed by subscription, which will amply make up the loss of his place.

But it may be still demanded, why he affects those exalted strains of piety and resignation? To this I answer, with great probability, that he has resumed his old pursuits after the philosopher's stone, toward which it is held by all adepts for a most essential ingredient, that a man must seek it merely for the glory of God, and without the least desire of being rich.

Mr. Steele is angry, p. 60, that some of our friends have been reflected on in a pamphlet, because they left us in a point of the greatest consequence; and, upon that account, he runs into their panegyric, against his conscience, and the interest of his cause, without considering that those gentlemen have reverted to us again. The case is thus: he never would have praised them if they had remained firm, nor should we have railed at them. The one is full as honest and as natural as the other. However, Mr. Steele hopes, (I beg you, Mr. Bailiff, to observe the consequence,) that notwithstanding this pamphlet's reflecting on some

* Who is thus commemorated for his zeal on the self-same subject, by his colleague, Mr. John Dunton: "Then, what a dazzling, weighty, and exceeding crown of glory shall that truly loyal and ingenious gentleman, Mr. George Ridpath, wear in Heaven, whose great piety, steadiness of principles, and undaunted courage in suffering for his firm loyalty, but more especially for his telling your lordship every week that Dunkirk is not yet demolished, nor the Pretender removed, has set him above all fear of death and the pillory."—*Neck or Nothing*, p. 6. George Ridpath conducted the Flying Post, a Whig newspaper, in which occupation his zeal more than once procured him a severe cudgelling from some of the opposite party.

Tories who opposed the treaty of commerce, "the ministry will see Dunkirk effectually demolished."

Mr. Steele says something in commendation of the queen; but stops short, and tells you, (if I take his meaning right,) "that he shall leave what he has to say on this topic till he and her majesty are both dead," p. 61. Thus, he defers his praises, as he does his debts, after the manner of the Druids, to be paid in another world. If I have ill interpreted him, it is his own fault, for studying cadence instead of propriety, and filling up niches with words before he has adjusted his conceptions to them. One part of the queen's character is this, "that all the hours of her life are divided between the exercises of devotion, and taking minutes of the sublime affairs of her government." Now, if the business of Dunkirk be one of the "sublime affairs of her majesty's government," I think we ought to be at ease; or else she "takes her minutes" to little purpose. No, says Mr. Steele, the queen is a lady; and unless a prince will now and then get drunk with his ministers, "he cannot learn their interests or humours," p. 61; but, this being by no means proper for a lady, she can know nothing but what they think fit to tell her when they are sober.* And therefore "all the fellow-subjects" of these ministers must watch their motions, and "be very solicitous for what passes beyond the ordinary rules of government."—*Ibid.* For while we are foolishly "relying upon her majesty's virtues," these ministers are "taking the advantage of increasing the power of France."

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* Queen Anne was, however, rather more fortunate in this matter than might have been expected. For, though she could not drink with her ministers, yet, if her own word could be taken, Oxford used to attend her councils in a state of intoxication.

There is a very good maxim, I think it is neither Whig nor Tory, "that the prince can do no wrong:" which, I doubt, is often applied to very ill purposes. A monarch of Britain is pleased to create a dozen peers, and to make a peace; both these actions are (for instance) within the undisputed prerogative of the crown, and are to be reputed, and submitted to, as the actions of the prince; but, as a king of England is supposed to be guided, in matters of such importance, by the advice of those he employs in his councils; whenever a parliament thinks fit to complain of such proceedings, as a public grievance, then this maxim takes place, that the prince can do no wrong, and the advisers are called to account. But shall this empower such an individual as Mr. Steele, in his tatling or pamphleteering capacity, to fix "the ordinary rules of government," or to affirm that "her ministers, upon the security of her majesty's goodness, are labouring for the grandeur of France?" What ordinary rule of government is transgressed by the queen's delaying the demolition of Dunkirk? or what addition is thereby made to the grandeur of France? Every tailor in your corporation is as much a fellow-subject as Mr. Steele; and do you think, in your conscience, that every tailor of Stockbridge is fit to direct her majesty and her ministers in "the sublime affairs of her government?"

But he persists in it, "that it is no manner of diminution of the wisdom of a prince, that he is obliged to act by the information of others." The sense is admirable, and the interpretation is this, that what a man is forced to, "is no diminution of his wisdom." But, if he would conclude from this sage maxim that, because a prince "acts by the

information of others," therefore those actions may lawfully be traduced in print by every fellow-subject; I hope there is no man in England so much a Whig as to be of his opinion.

Mr. Steele concludes his letter to you with a story about King William and his French dog-keeper, "who gave that prince a gun loaden only with powder, and then pretended to wonder how his majesty could miss his aim: which was no argument against the king's reputation for shooting very finely." This he would have you apply, by allowing her majesty to be a wise prince, but deceived by wicked counsellors, who are in the interest of France. Her majesty's aim was peace, which I think she has not missed; and God be thanked, she has got it, without any more expence, either of shot or powder. Her dog-keepers, for some years past, had directed her gun against her friends, and at last loaded it so deep, that it was in danger to burst in her hands.

You may please to observe, that Mr. Steele calls this dog-keeper a minister; which, with humble submission, is a gross impropriety of speech. The word is derived from the Latin, where it properly signifies a servant; but in England is never made use of otherwise than to denominate those who are employed in the service of church or state; so that the appellation, as he directs it, is no less absurd than it would be for you, Mr. Bailiff, to send your apprentice for a pot of ale, and give him the title of your envoy; to call a petty constable a magistrate, or the common hangman a minister of justice. I confess when I was choqued * at this word in reading the paragraph, a gentleman offered his con-

* This is the original mode of spelling *shock'd*.

jecture, that it might possibly be intended for a reflection or jest: but, if there be anything farther in it than a want of understanding our language, I take it to be only a refinement upon the old levelling principle of the Whigs. Thus, in their opinion, a dog-keeper is as much a minister as any secretary of state: and thus Mr. Steele, and my lord-treasurer, are both fellow-subjects. I confess, I have known some ministers, whose birth, or qualities, or both, were such, that nothing but the capriciousness of fortune, and the iniquity of the times, could ever have raised them above the station of dog-keeper, and to whose administration I should be loth to entrust a dog I had any value for: because, by the rule of proportion, they, who treated their prince like a slave, would have used their fellow-subjects like dogs; and yet how they would treat a dog, I can find no similitude to express; yet, I well remember, they maintained a large number, whom they taught to fawn upon themselves, and bark at their mistress. However, while they were in service, I wish they had only kept her majesty's dogs, and not been trusted with her guns. And thus much by way of comment upon this worthy story of King William and his dog-keeper.

I have now, Mr. Bailiff, explained to you all the difficult parts in Mr. Steele's letter. As for the importance of Dunkirk, and when it shall be demolished, or whether it shall be demolished or not, neither he, nor you, nor I, have anything to do in the matter. Let us all say what we please, her majesty will think herself the best judge, and her ministers the best advisers: neither has Mr. Steele pretended to prove, that any law, ecclesiastical or civil, statute or common, is broken by keeping Dunkirk undemolished, so long as the queen shall

think it best for the service of herself and her kingdoms; and it is not altogether impossible, that there may be some few reasons of state, which have not been yet communicated to Mr. Steele. I am, with respect to the borough and yourself,

SIR,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant, &c.

THE

PUBLIC SPIRIT

OF THE

WHIGS,

SET FORTH IN THEIR GENEROUS ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE AUTHOR OF THE CRISIS.

WITH

SOME OBSERVATIONS

ON THE SEASONABLENESS, CANDOUR, ERUDITION, AND STYLE OF THAT TREATISE. 1713–14.

THE last parliament of Queen Anne was opened in December 1713, a period of the most critical importance to Britain. The queen's health was so precarious, that her death was weekly anticipated. The question of succession divided the nation, and even the administration. There were Tories who had submitted to Mary and to Anne, as being immediate descendants of James II., but whose notions of hereditary right were startled at the transference of the sceptre to a more distant branch. These augmented the number of the steady Jacobites, which faction now began to show themselves openly, and even to aver that the queen countenanced the right of her brother, the Chevalier de St. George. Bolingbroke, whose breach with Oxford was now irreparable, was considered as the head of this party. Oxford was supported chiefly by such High-churchmen as were friends to the Hanover

succession. But the Whigs looked with jealousy and suspicion even upon the latter body, and left nothing undone to confound both classes of Tories in the general charge of a plot to bring in the Pretender.

In this emergency, the well-tried and ready pen of Mr. Steele produced a pamphlet called the Crisis. The design is said to have been suggested to him by Mr. Moore of the Inner Temple, and the piece itself revised by Addison, Lechmere, and Hoadly. Yet it is an awkward and ill-written treatise. The acts of settlement, which are introduced into the body of the pamphlet at full length, harmonize ill with Steele's own oratory, and the rhetoric itself is both insipid and tawdry. Yet the publication of the Crisis, and the praises heaped upon the pamphlet by the party which it favoured, excited a strong sensation in the public; and it was thought of such importance, that Swift was employed by the ministers in the task of confutation.

The Public Spirit of the Whigs came forth accordingly in answer to the Crisis. But Swift, in eager pursuit of his prey, had very nearly followed it over a precipice. The Duke of Argyle, with the Scottish nobles, had of late been much discontented with the ministry. They had made formal remonstrances on the extension of the malt tax to Scotland; and Argyle, and his brother Ilay, united with Mar and Seafield, supported a bill brought into parliament for dissolution of the Union, on the ground of the following grievances: First, Scotland's being deprived of a privy council; second, the English laws of treason being extended to that country; third, the Scottish peers being judged incapable of being made peers of Great Britain; fourth, the extension of the malt tax. It was, on this occasion, singular to observe the Whig lords, who had been active in making the Union, now support a bill for the dissolution; and the Tories, who detested the measure, standing up in its defence. But both soon began to recover their natural tone. In the Crisis, the Union is pronounced to be sacred and inviolable. No blame is, however, thrown on the Scottish peers, who had moved for the dissolution. On the contrary, it is intimated, that it became the English, in generosity, to be more particularly careful in preserving the Union, since the Scotch had sacrificed their national independence, and left themselves in a state of comparative impotence of redressing their own wrongs. Swift, who detested the Scottish nation, and entered into the resentment of ministers against the Duke of Argyle, a deserter from their standard, enters upon this argument with the most unqualified severity, and treats the Union as a step in itself prejudicial to England, and only rendered necessary by the Scottish act of settlement. The derogatory terms in which the subject was treated gave high offence to the Scottish peers, who went to

court in a body, with the Duke of Argyle at their head, to demand vengeance for the insult. The Earl of Wharton stated a complaint against the treatise in the House of Lords. John Morphew, the publisher, and John Barber, the printer, were ordered into custody of the black rod, and examined at the bar of the House; and though they were enlarged upon petition, the House voted the "Public Spirit of the Whigs" to be "a false, malicious, and factious libel, highly dishonourable to her majesty's subjects of Scotland;" and besought her majesty to issue a reward for discovering the author. The queen, who never loved Swift, readily issued a proclamation, offering a reward of £300 to any person who should make known the author of the obnoxious pamphlet. But, although the credit of the ministers was at this time supposed to be shaken, they retained influence enough to screen Swift from actual prosecution. Morphew, indeed, was summoned to the Court of King's Bench by Lord Chief-Justice Parker, and threatened with punishment. But the temporary recovery of the queen, and the additional strength acquired by the administration in the House of Lords, put the matter finally to rest.

It was not the least remarkable circumstance, that, while the violence of party was levelled against Swift in the House of Peers, no less injustice was done to his adversary, Steele, by the Commons, who expelled him from their House for writing the Crisis, that very pamphlet which called forth Swift's answer.

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CANNOT, without some envy, and a just resentment against the opposite conduct of others, reflect upon that generosity and tenderness, wherewith the heads, and principal members of a struggling faction, treat those who will undertake to hold a pen in their defence. And the behaviour of these patrons is yet the more laudable, because the benefits they confer are almost gratis. If any of their labourers can scratch out a pamphlet, they desire no more; there is no question offered about the wit, the style, the argument. Let a pamphlet come out upon demand, in a proper juncture, you shall be well and certainly paid: you shall be paid

beforehand; every one of the party who is able to read, and can spare a shilling, shall be a subscriber; several thousands of each production shall be sent among their friends through the kingdom: the work shall be reported admirable, sublime, unanswerable; shall serve to raise the sinking clamours, and confirm the scandal of introducing Popery and the Pretender upon the queen and her ministers.

Among the present writers on that side, I can recollect but three of any great distinction, which are, the Flying Post, Mr. Dunton, and the author of the Crisis.* The first of these seems to have been much sunk in reputation, since the sudden retreat of the only true, genuine, original author, Mr. Ridpath, who is celebrated by the Dutch Gazetteer as "one of the best pens in England." Mr. Dunton† has been longer, and more conversant in books than any of the three, as well as more voluminous in his productions; however, having employed his studies in so great a variety of other subjects, he has, I think, but lately turned his genius to politics. His famous tract, entitled "Neck or Nothing,"‡ must be allowed to be the

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* Mr. Steele was expelled the House of Commons for this pamphlet, at the very same time that the House of Lords was moved against the dean for the reply. The plan of the Crisis was laid and chiefly executed by Mr. Moore, of the Inner Temple; and many hints of it came from Archbishop Tennison, whose steward obtained very large subscriptions for it.—*Memoirs of Steele*, 1731, p. 14.

† John Dunton, a broken bookseller, who had commenced author.

‡ "Neck or Nothing. In a Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord . . . . Being a Supplement to the History of the Short Parliament. Also, the new Scheme mentioned in the foresaid History, which the English and Scotch Jacobites have concerted for bringing in the Pretender, Popery, and Slavery, with the true Character or secret History of the present Ministers.

shrewdest piece, and written with the most spirit, of any which has appeared from that side since the change of the ministry: it is indeed a most cutting satire upon the lord-treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke; and I wonder none of our friends ever undertook to answer it. I confess I was at first of the same opinion with several good judges, who, from the style and manner, suppose it to have issued from the sharp pen of the Earl of Nottingham; and I am still apt to think it might receive his lordship's last hand. The third, and principal of this triumvirate, is the author of the Crisis, who, although he must yield to the Flying Post in knowledge of the world, and skill in politics, and to Mr. Dunton, in keenness of satire and variety of reading, has yet other qualities enough to denominate him a writer of a superior class to either; provided he would a little regard the propriety and disposition of his words, consult the grammatical part, and get some information in the subject he intends to handle.

Omitting the generous countenance and encourage-

Written by his Grace John Duke of . . . . London, 1713." Although this extraordinary treatise is written in the character of no less a person than the Duke of Marlborough, yet this disguise, like the lion's skin in the fable, proved infinitely too scanty to conceal the ass who had assumed it. The supposed duke quotes, for his authority, all the Whig inhabitants of Grub Street, with praise appropriate to their labours, as that "truly loyal and ingenious gentleman, Mr. George Ridpath;—poor dear Mr. Hurt,"—on whom the pillory, to which he was sentenced, conferred immortal honour; but, above all, and in every page, his grace alludes to the various learned works of that "Athenian projector, or indefatigable novelist, Mr. John Dunton." Of these, indeed, the duke is so extremely enamoured, that he often leaves the thread of his invective against the ministry, to explain Mr. Dunton's projects, and announce the title of his publications, not forgetting the price and place of sale; nor does his grace consider any proposition as sufficiently supported, till he has bucklered it with Mr. Dunton's authority.

ment that have been shown to the persons and productions of the two former authors, I shall here only consider the great favour conferred upon the last. It has been advertised for several months in the Englishman,* and other papers, that a pamphlet, called the Crisis, should be published at a proper time, in order to open the eyes of the nation. It was proposed to be printed by subscription, price a shilling. This was a little out of form, because subscriptions are usually begged only for books of great price, and such as are not likely to have a general sale. Notice was likewise given of what this pamphlet should contain; only an extract from certain acts of parliament relating to the succession, which at least must sink ninepence in the shilling, and leave but threepence for the author's political reflections; so that nothing very wonderful or decisive could be reasonably expected from this performance. But a work was to be done, a hearty writer to be encouraged, and, accordingly, many thousand copies were bespoke. Neither could this be sufficient; for when we expected to have our bundles delivered us, all was stopped; the friends to the cause sprang a new project; and it was advertised, that the Crisis could not appear, till the ladies had shown their zeal against the Pretender, as well as the men; against the Pretender, in the bloom of his youth, reported to be handsome, and endued with an understanding, exactly of a size to please the sex. I should be glad to have seen a printed list of the fair subscribers prefixed to this pamphlet, by which the Chevalier might know, he was so far from pretending to a monarchy here, that he could not so much as pretend to a mistress.

* A paper written by Steele, in favour of the Whigs.

At the destined period, the first news we hear is of a huge train of dukes, earls, viscounts, barons, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and others, going to Sam. Buckley's, the publisher of the Crisis, to fetch home their cargoes, in order to transmit them by dozens, scores, and hundreds, into the several counties, and thereby to prepare the wills and understandings of their friends against the approaching sessions. Ask any of them, whether they have read it, they will answer, No; but they have sent it everywhere, and it will do a world of good. It is a pamphlet, they hear, against the ministry; talks of slavery, France, and the Pretender; they desire no more; it will settle the wavering, confirm the doubtful, instruct the ignorant, inflame the clamorous, although it never be once looked into. I am told, by those who are expert in the trade, that the author and bookseller of this twelvepenny treatise will be greater gainers than from one edition of any folio that has been published these twenty years. What needy writer would not solicit to work under such masters, who will pay us beforehand, take off as much of our ware as we please, at our own rates, and trouble not themselves to examine, either before or after they have bought it, whether it be staple or not?

But, in order to illustrate the implicit munificence of these noble patrons, I cannot take a more effectual method than by examining the production itself; by which we shall easily find, that it was never intended, farther than from the noise, the bulk, and the title of Crisis, to do any service to the factious cause. The entire piece consists of a title-page, a dedication to the clergy, a preface, an extract from certain acts of Parliament, and about ten pages of dry reflections on the proceedings of the queen and her servants; which his coad-

jutors, the Earl of Nottingham, Mr. Dunton, and the Flying Post, had long ago set before us in a much clearer light.

In popish countries, when some impostor cries out, A miracle! a miracle! it is not done with a hope or intention of converting heretics, but confirming the deluded vulgar in their errors: and so the cry goes round, without examining into the cheat. Thus the Whigs among us give about the cry, A pamphlet! a pamphlet! the Crisis! the Crisis! not with a view of convincing their adversaries, but to raise the spirits of their friends, recal their stragglers, and unite their numbers, by sound and impudence, as bees assemble and cling together by the noise of brass.

That no other effect could be imagined or hoped for, by the publication of this timely treatise, will be manifest from some obvious reflections upon the several parts of it, wherein the follies, the falsehoods, or the absurdities, appear so frequent, that they may boldly contend for number with the lines.

When the hawker holds this pamphlet toward you, the first words you perceive are, "The Crisis; or, A Discourse," &c.* The interpreter of Suidas

* The full title runs thus: "The Crisis: or a Discourse representing, from the most Authentic Records, the just Causes of the late Happy Revolution, and the several Settlements of the Crowns of England and Scotland on her Majesty, and on the Demise of her Majesty without Issue, upon the Most Illustrious Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants, by previous Acts of both Parliaments of the late Kingdoms of England and Scotland, and confirmed by the Parliament of Great Britain. With some seasonable Remarks on the Danger of a Popish Successor.

Invitus ea tanquam vulnera attingo; sed nisi tacta tractataq. sanari non possunt.——Liv.

By Richard Steele, Esq. London: Printed by Sam. Buckley, and sold by Ferd. Burleigh, in Amen-Corner. 1714."

gives four translations of the word Crisis, any of which may be as properly applied to this author's Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge.* Next, what he calls a discourse, consists only of two pages, prefixed to twenty-two more, which contains extracts from acts of parliament; for, as to the twelve last pages, they are provided for themselves in the title, under the name of "some seasonable remarks on the danger of a popish successor." Another circumstance worthy our information in the title-page, is, that the crown has been settled by previous acts. I never heard of any act of parliament that was not previous to what it enacted, unless those two, by which the Earl of Strafford and Sir John Fenwick lost their heads, may pass for exceptions. "A Discourse, representing, from the most Authentic Records," &c. He has borrowed this expression from some writer who probably understood the words; but this gentleman has altogether misapplied them; and, under favour, he is wholly mistaken; for a heap of extracts from several acts of parliament cannot be called a discourse; neither do I believe he copied them from the most authentic records, which, as I take it, are lodged in the Tower, but out of some common printed copy. I grant there is nothing material in all this, farther than to show the generosity of our adversaries, in encouraging a writer who cannot furnish out so much as a title-page with propriety or common sense.

Next follows the dedication to the clergy of the church of England, wherein the modesty, and the meaning of the first paragraphs, are hardly to be matched. He tells them, he has made "a comment upon the acts of settlement," which he "lays before

* See the preceding Tract.

them, and conjures them to recommend, in their writings and discourses, to their fellow-subjects:" and he does all this "out of a just deference to their great power and influence." This is the right Whig scheme of directing the clergy what to preach. The Archbishop of Canterbury's jurisdiction extends no farther than over his own province; but the author of the Crisis constitutes himself vicar-general over the whole clergy of the church of England. The bishops, in their letters or speeches to their own clergy, proceed no farther than to exhortation; but this writer "conjures" the whole clergy of the church to "recommend" his "comment upon the laws" of the land, "in their writings and discourses." I would fain know, who made him a "commentator upon the laws of the land;" after which it will be time enough to ask him, By what authority he directs the clergy "to recommend" his comments from the pulpit or the press?*

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* "It is with a just deference to your great power and influence in this kingdom, that I lay before you the following comment upon the laws which regard the settlement of the imperial crown of Great Britain. My purpose in addressing these matters to you is to conjure you, as Heaven has blessed you with proper talents and opportunities, to recommend them, in your writings and discourses, to your fellow-subjects.

"In the character of pastors and teachers, you have an almost irresistible power over us of your congregations; and, by the admirable institution of our laws, the tenths of our lands, now in your possession, are destined to become the property of such others, as shall, by learning and virtue, qualify themselves to succeed you. These circumstances of education and fortune place the minds of the people, from age to age, under your direction: As, therefore, it would be the highest indiscretion in ministers of state of this kingdom to neglect the care of being acceptable to you in their administration; so it would be the greatest impiety in you to inflame the people committed to your charge, with apprehensions of danger to you and your constitution, from men innocent of any such designs."—*Crisis.*

He tells the clergy, "there are two circumstances which place the minds of the people under their direction;" the first circumstance is their education; the second circumstance is the tenths of our lands. This last, according to the Latin phrase, is spoken *ad invidiam;* for he knows well enough they have not the twentieth: but if you take it in his own way, the landlord has nine parts in ten of the people's minds under his direction. Upon this rock the author before us is perpetually splitting, as often as he ventures out beyond the narrow bounds of his literature. He has a confused remembrance of words since he left the university, but has lost half their meaning, and puts them together with no regard, except to their cadence; as I remember, a fellow nailed up maps in a gentleman's closet, some sidelong, others upside down, the better to adjust them to the pannels.

I am sensible it is of little consequence to their cause, whether this defender of it understands grammar or not; and if what he would fain say, discovered him to be a well-wisher to reason or truth, I would be ready to make large allowances. But, when with great difficulty I descry a composition of rancour and falsehood, intermixed with plausible nonsense, I feel a struggle between contempt and indignation, at seeing the character of a Censor, a Guardian, an Englishman, a commentator on the laws, an instructor of the clergy, assumed by a child of obscurity, without one single qualification to support them.

This writer, who either affects, or is commanded, of late to copy from the Bishop of Sarum, has, out of the pregnancy of his invention, found out an old way of insinuating the grossest reflections, under

the appearance of admonitions;* and is so judicious a follower of the prelate, that he taxes the clergy for "inflaming their people with apprehensions of danger to them and their constitution, from men who are innocent of such designs;" when he must needs confess the whole "design" of his pamphlet is, "to inflame the people with apprehensions of danger" from the present ministry, whom we believe to be at least as innocent men as the last.

What shall I say to the pamphlet, where the malice and falsehood of every line would require an answer, and where the dulness and absurdities will not deserve one?

By his pretending to have always maintained an inviolable respect to the clergy, he would insinuate, that those papers among the Tatlers and Spectators, where the whole order is abused, were not his own. I will appeal to all who know the flatness of his style, and the barrenness of his invention, whether he does not grossly prevaricate? Was he ever able to walk without leading-strings, or swim without bladders, without being discovered by his hobbling and his sinking? Has he adhered to his character in his paper called the Englishman, whereof he is allowed to be the sole author, without any competition? What does he think of the letter signed by himself, which relates to Molesworth, in whose†

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* The pastoral admonitions of Bishop Burnet usually contained some political touches.

† Mr. Molesworth, afterwards Lord Viscount Molesworth, of Swords, in Ireland, was removed from the privy council for an insult upon the Convocation in Ireland. The offence consisted in his having said, when the clergy were about to move a Tory address, "Those who have turned the world upside down are come hither also;" words which were represented as a profane application of Scripture, and, at the same time, an insult upon the Convocation. Steele pleaded Molesworth's defence

defence he affronts the whole convocation of Ireland?

It is a wise maxim, that because the clergy are no civil lawyers, they ought not to preach obedience to governors; and therefore they ought not to preach temperance, because they are no physicians. Examine all this author's writings, and then point me out a divine who knows less of the constitution of England than he: witness those many egregious blunders in his late papers, where he pretended to dabble in the subject.

But the clergy have, it seems, imbibed their notions of power and obedience, abhorrent from our laws, "from the pompous ideas of imperial greatness, and the submission to absolute emperors."* This is gross ignorance, below a school-boy in his Lucius Florus. The Roman history, wherein lads are instructed, reached little above eight hundred years, and the authors do everywhere instil republican principles; and from the account of nine in twelve of the first emperors, we learn to have a detestation against tyranny. The Greeks carry this point yet a great deal higher, which none can be ignorant of, who has read or heard them quoted. This gave Hobbes the occasion of advancing a position directly contrary; that the youth of England were corrupted in their political principles, by reading the histories of Rome and Greece; which, having been written under

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from this absurd accusation, for such (saving Swift's presence) it unquestionably was, in his political paper called the Englishman.

* "These men, from the pompous ideas of imperial greatness, and submission to absolute emperors, which they imbibed in their earlier years, have from time to time inadvertently uttered notions of power and obedience abhorrent from the laws of this their native country."—*Crisis.*

republics, taught the readers to have ill notions of monarchy. In this assertion there was something specious; but that advanced by the Crisis could only issue from the profoundest ignorance.

But, would you know his scheme of education for young gentlemen at the university? It is, that they should spend their time in perusing those acts of parliament,* whereof his pamphlet is an extract, which, "if it had been done, the kingdom would not be in its present condition, but every member sent into the world thus instructed, since the Revolution, would have been an advocate for our rights and liberties."

Here now is a project for getting more money by the Crisis! to have it read by tutors in the universities. I thoroughly agree with him, that if our students had been thus employed for twenty years past, "the kingdom had not been in its present condition;" but we have too many of such proficients already among the young nobility and gentry, who have gathered up their politics from chocolate-houses and factious clubs; and who, if they had spent their time in hard study at Oxford or Cambridge, we might indeed have said, that the factious part of this kingdom "had not been in its present condition," or have suffered themselves to be taught, that a few acts of parliament, relating to the succession, are preferable to all other civil institutions whatsoever. Neither did I ever before hear, that an act of parliament, relating to one particular point, could be called a civil institution.

He spends almost a quarto page in telling the

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* Steele certainly does state, that if the acts mentioned in his treatise had been carefully recommended to the perusal of young gentlemen in colleges, the constitution would have had a defender in every one whom they sent out to the world.

clergy, that they will be certainly perjured if they bring in the Pretender, whom they have abjured; and he wisely reminds them, that they have sworn without equivocation or mental reservation; otherwise the clergy might think, that as soon as they received the Pretender, and turned papists, they would be free from their oath.

This honest, civil, ingenious gentleman, knows in his conscience, that there are not ten clergymen in England (except nonjurors) who do not abhor the thoughts of the Pretender reigning over us, much more than himself. But this is the spittle of the Bishop of Sarum,* which our author licks up, and swallows, and then coughs out again with an addition of his own phlegm. I would fain suppose the body of the clergy were to return an answer, by one of their members, to these worthy counsellors. I conceive it might be in the following terms:

"My Lord and Gentleman,

"The clergy command me to give you thanks for your advice; and if they knew any crimes from which either of you were as free, as they are from those which you so earnestly exhort them to avoid, they would return your favour as near as possible, in the same style and manner. However, that your advice may not be wholly lost, particularly that part of it which relates to the Pretender, they desire you would apply it to more proper persons. Look among your own leaders; examine which of them engaged in a plot to restore the late King James, and received pardons under his seal; examine which of them have been since tampering with his pretended son, and, to gratify their ambition, their

* See Swift's ironical preface to the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction.

avarice, their malice, and revenge, are now willing to restore him, at the expence of the religion and liberty of their country. Retire, good my lord, with your pupil, and let us hear no more of these hypocritical insinuations, lest the queen and ministers, who have been hitherto content with only disappointing the lurking villanies of your faction, may be at last provoked to expose them."

But his respect for the clergy is such, that he does not "insinuate" as if they really had these evil dispositions; he only "insinuates," that they give "too much cause" for such "insinuations."

I will upon this occasion strip some of his insinuations from their generality and solecisms, and drag them into the light. His dedication to the clergy is full of them, because here he endeavours to mould up his rancour and civility together; by which constraint, he is obliged to shorten his paragraphs, and to place them in such a light that they obscure one another. Supposing, therefore, that I have scraped off his good manners, in order to come at his meaning, which lies under; he tells the clergy, that the favour of the queen and her ministers is but "a colour of zeal toward them;" that the people were deluded by a groundless cry of the church's danger at Sacheverel's trial; that the clergy, as they are "men of sense and honour," ought to preach this truth to their several congregations; and let them know, that the true design of the present men in power, in that, and all their proceedings since in favour of the church, was to bring in popery, France, and the Pretender, and to enslave all Europe, contrary to the "laws of our country, the power of the legislature, the faith of nations, and the honour of God."

I cannot see why the clergy, as "men of sense, and men of honour" (for he appeals not to them as

men of religion,) should not be allowed to know when they are in danger, and be able to guess whence it comes, and who are their protectors. The design of their destruction indeed may have been projected in the dark: but when all was ripe, their enemies proceeded to so many overt acts in the face of the nation, that it was obvious to the meanest people, who wanted no other motives to rouse them. On the other side, can this author, or the wisest of his faction, assign one single act of the present ministry, any way tending toward bringing in the Pretender, or to weaken the succession of the house of Hanover? Observe then the reasonableness of this gentleman's advice: the clergy, the gentry, and the common people, had the utmost apprehensions of danger to the church under the late ministry; yet then it was the greatest impiety to "inflame the people with any such apprehensions." His danger of a popish successor, from any steps of the present ministry, is an artificial calumny, raised and spread against the conviction of the inventors, pretended to be believed only by those who abhor the constitution in church and state; an obdurate faction who compass Heaven and earth, to restore themselves upon the ruin of their country; yet here our author "exhorts the clergy" to preach up this imaginary danger to their people, and disturb the public peace, with his strained seditious comments.

But how comes this gracious licence to the clergy from the Whigs, to concern themselves with politics of any sort, although it be only the glosses and comments of Mr. Steele? The speeches of the managers at Sacheverel's trial, particularly those of Stanhope, Lechmere, King, Parker,* and some others, seemed

* These persons were created peers by King George I.

to deliver a different doctrine. Nay, this very dedication complains of "some in holy orders, who have made the constitution of their country" (in which and the Coptic Mr. Steele is equally skilled) "a very little part of their study, and yet made obedience and government the frequent subjects of their discourses." This difficulty is easily solved; for by politics, they mean obedience. Mr. Hoadly,* who is a champion for resistance, was never charged with meddling out of his function: Hugh Peters, and his brethren, in the times of usurpation, had full liberty to preach up sedition and rebellion; and so here, Mr. Steele issues out his licence to the clergy, to preach up the "danger of a popish Pretender," in defiance of the queen and her administration.

Every whiffler in a laced coat, who frequents the chocolate-house, and is able to spell the title of a pamphlet, shall talk of the constitution with as much plausibility as this very solemn writer, and with as good a grace blame the clergy for meddling with politics, which they do not understand. I have known many of these able politicians furnished, before they were of age, with all the necessary topics of their faction, and, by the help of about twenty polysyllables, capable of maintaining an argument, that would shine in the Crisis; whose author gathered up his little stock from the same schools, and has written from no other fund.

But after all, it is not clear to me, whether this gentleman addresses himself to the clergy of England in general, or only to those very few (hardly enough, in case of a change, to supply the mortality of those "self-denying prelates" he celebrates) who are in his principles, and, among these, only such as live

* Doctor Benjamin Hoadly, successively Bishop of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester.

in and about London; which probably will reduce the number to about half a dozen at most. I should incline to guess the latter; because he tells them, they "are surrounded by a learned, wealthy, knowing gentry, who know with what firmness, self-denial, and charity, the bishops adhered to the public cause, and what contumelies those clergymen have undergone, &c., who adhered to the cause of truth." By those terms, "the public cause," and "the cause of truth," he understands the cause of the Whigs, in opposition to the queen and her servants: therefore by the "learned, wealthy, and knowing gentry," he must understand the Bank and East India Company, and those other merchants or citizens within the bills of mortality, who have been strenuous against the church and crown, and whose spirit of faction has lately got the better of their interest.* For, let him search all the rest of the kingdom, he will find the "surrounded" clergy, and the "surrounding" gentry, wholly strangers to the merits of those prelates; and adhering to a very different "cause of truth," as will soon, I hope, be manifest, by a fair appeal to the representatives of both.†

It was very unnecessary in this writer to bespeak the treatment of contempt and derision, which the clergy are to expect from this faction, whenever they come into power.‡ I believe that venerable body is in very little concern after what manner

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* He alludes to the depression of the public funds, occasioned by the Whigs selling out their stock.

† The Convocation, as well as the Parliament, were just about to sit.

‡ Swift seizes on this expression, "those who pursue the gratifications of pride, ambition, and avarice, under the sacred character of clergymen, will not fail to be our contempt and derision." —*Crisis*, p. iv. Introd.

their most mortal enemies intend to treat them, whenever it shall please God, for our sins, to visit us with so fatal an event; which I hope it will be the united endeavours, both of clergy and laity, to hinder. It would be some support to this hope, if I could have any opinion of his predicting talent, (which some have ascribed to people of this author's character,) where he tells us, that "noise and wrath will not always pass for zeal." What other instances of zeal has this gentleman, or the rest of his party, been able to produce? if clamour be "noise," it is but opening our ears to know from what side it comes; and if sedition, scurrility, slander, and calumny, be the fruit of "wrath," read the pamphlets and papers issuing from the "zealots" of that faction, or visit their clubs and coffeehouses, in order to form a judgment of the tree.

When Mr. Steele tells us, "we have a religion that wants no support from the enlargement of secular power, but is well supported by the wisdom and piety of its preachers, and its own native truth;" it would be good to know what religion he professes; for the clergy, to whom he speaks, will never allow him to be a member of the church of England. They cannot agree, that the "truth" of the Gospel, and the "piety" and "wisdom" of its preachers, are a sufficient support, in an evil age, against infidelity, faction, and vice, without the assistance of "secular power," unless God would please to confer the gift of miracles on those who wait at the altar. I believe they venture to go a little farther, and think, that upon some occasions they want a little "enlargement of assistance from the secular power," against "atheists, deists, socinians," and other heretics. Every first day in Lent a part of the Liturgy is read to the people, in the preface to which, the church declares her

wishes for the restoring of that discipline she formerly had, and which, for some years past, has been more wanted than ever. But of this no more, lest it might "insinuate jealousies between the clergy and laity;" which the author tells us, is the "policy of vain ambitious men among the former, in hopes to derive from their order a veneration they cannot deserve from their virtue." If this be their method for procuring veneration, it is the most singular that ever was thought on; and the clergy would then indeed have no more to do with politics of any sort, than Mr. Steele or his faction will allow them.

Having thus toiled through his dedication, I proceed to consider his preface, which, half consisting of quotation, will be so much the sooner got through. It is a very unfair thing in any writer to employ his ignorance and malice together, because it gives his answerer double work; it is like the sort of sophistry that the logicians call two mediums, which are never allowed in the same syllogism. A writer, with a weak head and a corrupt heart, is an over-match for any single pen; like a hireling jade, dull and vicious, hardly able to stir, yet offering at every turn to kick.

He begins his preface with such an account of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions, as I am confident was never once imagined by any writer upon government, from Plato to Mr. Locke. Give me leave to transcribe his first paragraph. "I never saw an unruly crowd of people cool by degrees into temper, but it gave me an idea of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions. One particular man has usually in those cases, from the dignity of his appearance, or other qualities known or imagined by the multitude, been received into sudden favour and authority;

the occasion of their difference has been represented to him, and the matter referred to his decision."

I have known a poet, who never was out of England, introduce a fact by way of simile, which could probably nowhere happen nearer than in the plains of Lybia; and begin with, "So have I seen." * Such a fiction, I suppose, may be justified by poetical licence; yet Virgil is much more modest. This paragraph of Mr. Steele's, which he sets down as an observation of his own, is a miserable mangled translation of six verses out of that famous poet, who speaks after this manner: "As when a sedition arises in a great multitude, &c., then if they see a wise great man," &c. Virgil, who lived but a little after the ruin of the Roman republic, where seditions often happened, and the force of oratory was great among the people, made use of a simile, which Mr. Steele turns into a fact, after such a manner as if he had seen it a hundred times; and builds upon it a system of the origin of government. When the vulgar here in England assemble in a riotous manner, (which is not very frequent of late years,) the prince takes a much more effectual way than that of sending orators to appease them: but Mr. Steele imagines such a crowd of people as this, where there is no government at all; their "unruliness" quelled, and their passions "cooled" by a particular man, whose great qualities they had known before. Such an assembly must have risen suddenly from the earth, and the "man of authority" dropped from the clouds; for without some previous form of government, no such "crowd" did ever

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* This sort of ocular evidence is ridiculed by Martin Scriblerus, who gives us an example:

> "So have I seen in Araby the Blest,
> A Phœnix couch'd upon her funeral nest."

yet assemble, or could possibly be acquainted with the merits and dignity of any "particular man" among them. But to pursue his scheme; this man of authority, who "cools" the "crowd" by degrees, and to whom they all appeal, must of necessity prove either an open or "clandestine tyrant." A "clandestine tyrant" I take to be a king of Brentford, who keeps his army in disguise; and whenever he happens either to die naturally, be knocked on the head, or deposed, the people "calmly take farther measures, and improve upon what was begun under his unlimited power." * All this our author tells us, with extreme propriety, "is what seems reasonable to common sense;" that is, in other words, it seems reasonable to reason. This is what he calls "giving an idea of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions." To which I answer with great phlegm, that I defy any man alive to show me in double the number of lines, although writ by the same author, such a complicated ignorance in history, human nature, or politics, as well as in the ordinary properties of thought or of style.

But it seems these profound speculations were only premised to introduce some quotations in favour of resistance. What has resistance to do with the succession of the House of Hanover, that the Whig writers should perpetually affect to tack them together? I can conceive nothing else, but that their hatred to the queen and ministry puts them upon thoughts of introducing the successor by

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* "This first step towards acting reasonably has brought them to themselves; and when the person, by an appeal to whom they first were taken out of confusion, was gone from amongst them, they have calmly taken further measures from a sense of their common good."—*Crisis.*

another revolution. Are cases of extreme necessity to be introduced as common maxims, by which we are always to proceed? Should not these gentlemen sometimes inculcate the general rule of obedience, and not always the exception of resistance? since the former has been the perpetual dictate of all laws, both divine and civil, and the latter is still in dispute.

I shall meddle with none of the passages he cites to prove the lawfulness of resisting princes, except that from the present lord-chancellor's * speech in defence of Mr. Sacheverel; "that there are extraordinary cases, cases of necessity, which are implied, although not expressed, in the general rule" (of obedience.) These words, very clear in themselves, Mr. Steele explains into nonsense; which, in any other author, I should suspect to have been intended as a reflection upon as great a person as ever filled or adorned that high station; but I am so well acquainted with his pen, that I much more wonder how it can trace out a true quotation, than a false comment. To see him treat my Lord Harcourt with so much civility, looks indeed a little suspicious, and as if he had malice in his heart. He calls his lordship a very great man, and a great living authority; places himself in company with General Stanhope and Mr. Hoadly; and, in short, takes the most effectual method in his power of ruining his lordship in the opinion of every man, who is wise or good. I can only tell my Lord Harcourt, for his comfort, that these praises are encumbered with the doctrine of resistance, and the true revolution principles; and provided he will not allow Mr. Steele for his commentator, he may hope to recover the honour of being libelled again, as well as his sovereign and fellow-servants.

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* Sir Simon Harcourt was first Lord Harcourt.

We now come to the Crisis; where we meet with two pages, by way of introduction to those extracts from acts of parliament, that constitute the body of his pamphlet. This introduction begins with a definition of liberty, and then proceeds in a panegyric upon that great blessing. His panegyric is made up of half a dozen shreds, like a school-boy's theme, beaten general topics, where any other man alive might wander securely; but this politician, by venturing to vary the good old phrases, and give them a new turn, commits a hundred solecisms and absurdities. The weighty truths, which he endeavours to press upon his reader, are such as these. That "liberty is a very good thing;" that "without liberty we cannot be free;" that "health is good, and strength is good, but liberty is better than either;" that "no man can be happy without the liberty of doing whatever his own mind tells him is best;" that "men of quality love liberty, and common people love liberty;" even women and children love liberty; and you cannot please them better than by letting them do what they please. Had Mr. Steele contented himself to deliver these, and the like maxims, in such intelligible terms, I could have found where we agreed, and where we differed. But let us hear some of these axioms, as he has involved them. "We cannot possess our souls with pleasure and satisfaction, except we preserve in ourselves that inestimable blessing, which we call liberty. By liberty I desire to be understood to mean the happiness of men's living," &c.—— The true "life of man consists in conducting it according to his own just sentiments and innocent inclinations;"—"man's being is degraded below that of a free agent, when his affections and passions are no longer governed by the dictates of his own mind."——"Without liberty our health" (among

other things) "may be at the will of a tyrant, employed to our own ruin, and that of our fellow-creatures." If there be any of these maxims, which are not grossly defective in truth, in sense, or in grammar, I will allow them to pass for uncontrollable. By the first, omitting the pedantry of the whole expression, there are not above one or two nations in the world, where any one man can "possess his soul with pleasure and satisfaction." In the second, "he desires to be understood to mean;" that is, he desires to be meant to mean, or to be understood to understand. In the third, "the life of man consists in conducting" his life. In the fourth he affirms, that "men's beings are degraded, when their passions are no longer governed by the dictates of their own minds;" directed contrary to lessons of all moralists and legislators; who agree unanimously, that the passions of men must be under the government of reason and law; neither are the laws of any other use, than to correct the irregularity of our affections. By the last, "our health is ruinous to ourselves, and other men, when a tyrant pleases;" which I leave to him to make out.

I cannot sufficiently commend our ancestors, for transmitting to us the blessing of liberty;* yet having "laid out their blood and treasure upon the purchase," I do not see how they "acted parsimoniously," because I can conceive nothing more generous, than that of employing our blood and treasure for the service of others. But I am suddenly struck with the thought, that I have found his meaning;

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* "The late kingdoms of England and Scotland have contended for it from age to age, with too great a price of blood and treasure to be given for the purchase of any other blessing; but laid out parsimoniously, when we consider they have transmitted his to their posterity."—*Crisis.*

our ancestors acted parsimoniously, because they spent only their own treasure for the good of their posterity; whereas we squandered away the treasures of our posterity too; but whether they will be thankful, and think it was done for the preservation of their liberty, must be left to themselves for a decision.*

I verily believe, although I could not prove it in Westminster-hall before a lord-chief-justice, that by "enemies to our constitution," and "enemies to our present establishment," Mr. Steele "would desire to be understood to mean," my lord-treasurer and the rest of the ministry; by "those who are grown supine, in proportion to the danger to which our liberty is every day more exposed," I should guess he means the Tories: and by "honest men, who ought to look up with a spirit that becomes honesty," he understands the Whigs; I likewise believe, he would take it ill, or think me stupid, if I did not thus expound him. I say then, that, according to this exposition, the four great officers of state, together with the rest of the cabinet council, (except the Archbishop of Canterbury,†) are "enemies of our establishment, making artful and open attacks upon our constitution," and are now "practising indirect arts, and mean subtleties to weaken the security of those acts of parliament, for settling the succession in the House of Hanover." The first and most notorious of these criminals is Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, lord-high-treasurer, who is reputed to be chief minister; the second is James Butler, Duke of Ormond, who commands the army, and designs to employ it in bringing over the Pretender; the third is Henry

* Alluding to the debt incurred in the Continental war.
† Dr. Tenison.

St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, secretary of state, who must be supposed to hold a constant correspondence at the court of *Bar le Duc*, as the late Earl of Godolphin did with that at St. Germain: and, to avoid tediousness, Mr. Bromley,* and the rest, are employed in their several districts to the same end. These are the opinions, which Mr. Steele and his faction, under the direction of their leaders, are endeavouring, with all their might, to propagate among the people of England, concerning the present ministry; with what reservation to the honour, wisdom, or justice of the queen, I cannot determine; who, by her own free choice, after long experience of their abilities and integrity, and in compliance to the general wishes of her people, called them to her service. Such an accusation against persons in so high trust should require, I think, at least one single overt act to make it good. If there be no other choice of persons fit to serve the crown, without danger from the Pretender, except among those who are called the Whig party, the Hanover succession is then indeed in a very desperate state; that illustrious family will have almost nine of ten of the kingdom against it, and those principally of the landed interest; which is most to be depended upon in such a nation as ours.

I have now got as far as his extracts, which I shall not be at the pains of comparing with the originals, but suppose he has gotten them fairly transcribed; I only think, that whoever is patentee for printing acts of parliament, may have a very fair action against him for invasion of property; but this is none of my business to inquire into.

After two-and-twenty pages spent in reciting acts of parliament, he desires leave to repeat the history

* Speaker.

and progress of the Union; upon which I have some few things to observe.

This work, he tells us, was unsuccessfully attempted by several of her majesty's predecessors; although I do not remember * it was ever thought on by any, except King James the First, and the late King William. I have read indeed, that some small overtures were made by the former of these princes toward a union between the two kingdoms, but rejected with indignation and contempt by the English; and the historian tells us, that how degenerate and corrupt soever the court and parliament then were, they would not give ear to so infamous a proposal. I do not find, that any of the succeeding princes before the Revolution ever resumed the design; because it was a project, for which there could not possibly be assigned the least reason or necessity; for I defy any mortal to name one single advantage that England could ever expect from such a union.†

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* The author's memory here deceived him; but he acknowledged his mistake in the Examiner, 11th March 1713.

† The experience of nearly a century may now enable us to speak with tolerable precision on the subject of the Union. The advantage of the first fifty years was entirely on the side of England, who secured, in the first place, the grand object of national security; secondly, a right to draw from Scotland, as from a vanquished province, supplies of soldiers, of sailors, of colonists, and of labourers. It was not until the accession of his present majesty that these advantages were more than an hundred fold repaid to Scotland. It was not until the generation was utterly extinguished, that remembered the independence of Scotland, and framed their views and schemes upon principles which pre ceded the Union; it was not until a new race had arisen, who hardly remembered the distinction between English and Scottish, that my countrymen were enabled to avail themselves of the incalculable resources which the Union had placed in their power. It seemed as if Scotland bewailed, in her wilderness, the loss of her monarchy, as Jephthah's daughter did her virginity,

But toward the end of the late king's reign, upon apprehensions of the want of issue from him or the Princess Anne, a proposition for uniting both kingdoms was begun; because Scotland had not settled their crown upon the House of Hanover, but left themselves at large, in hopes to make their advantage; and it was thought highly dangerous to leave that part of the island, inhabited by a poor fierce northern people, at liberty to put themselves under a different king. However, the opposition to this work was so great, that it could not be overcome, until some time after her present majesty came to the crown; when, by the weakness or corruption of a certain minister, since dead, an act of parliament was obtained for the Scots, which gave them leave to arm themselves;* and so the Union became

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for a certain term of years, and then, with energy, opened her eyes to the brighter prospects acquired by that sacrifice of imaginary independence.

* The Act of Security, as it was called, here alluded to, was in its very front hostile to England. It professed to provide for the security of the kingdom, in case of the queen's death without issue, and for the speedy meeting of a Scottish parliament in that event. It stipulated, that the same person should be incapable of succeeding to both kingdoms, unless a free communication of trade, and the benefit of the navigation act, were extended to Scotland. It declared, that with the sovereign all military commissions expired, and that the inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, were to be enrolled and drilled monthly. Lastly, that Scotland might not be engaged in the continental wars of England, without the consent of her own legislation, the prerogative of declaring peace and war was vested in the estates, instead of the crown exclusively. This act had been provoked, by the conduct of England during the attempt to make a Scottish settlement at Darien, and by the deep and immortal jealousy with which a weaker nation always regards the motions of the stronger. But it was obvious, that the act of security bore in its bosom the seeds of separation from England, and left no alternative to the English ministry but immediate union, or the risk of future civil war. Swift blames Godolphin for permitting it to be passed.

necessary, not for any actual good it could possibly do us, but to avoid a probable evil; and at the same time save an obnoxious minister's head; who was so wise as to take the first opportunity of procuring a general pardon by act of parliament, because he could not, with so much decency and safety, desire a particular one for himself. These facts are well enough known to the whole kingdom. And I remember discoursing, above six years ago, with the most considerable person * of the adverse party, and a great promoter of the Union, he frankly owned to me, that this necessity, brought upon us by the wrong management of the Earl of Godolphin, was the only cause of the Union.

Therefore I am ready to grant two points to the author of the Crisis; first, that the Union became necessary for the cause above related; because it prevented this island from being governed by two kings; which England would never have suffered; and it might probably have cost us a war of a year or two to reduce the Scots. Secondly, that it would be dangerous to break this union, at least in this juncture, while there is a Pretender abroad, who might probably lay hold of such an opportunity. And this made me wonder a little at the spirit of faction last summer, among some people, who, having been the great promoters of the Union, and several of them the principal gainers by it, could yet proceed so far as to propose in the House of Lords,

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It was once rejected by the refusal of the royal assent, but revived and passed in 1704. Both countries must have deeply felt the effects of civil discord, but chiefly the richer and more unwarlike; but when Swift says, coolly, it would have cost England only *a war of a year or two* to reduce Scotland, he gives the most effectual approbation of an union, which was to spare the issue of such an experiment.

* Lord Somers.

that it should be dissolved; while, at the same time, those peers, who had ever opposed it in the beginning, were then for preserving it, upon the reason I have just assigned, and which the author of the Crisis has likewise taken notice of.

But when he tells us, "the Englishmen ought, in generosity, to be more particularly careful in preserving this union," he argues like himself. "The late kingdom of Scotland (says he) had as numerous a nobility as England," &c.* They had indeed; and to that we owe one of the great and necessary evils of the Union, upon the foot it now stands. Their nobility is indeed so numerous, that the whole revenues of their country would be hardly able to maintain them, according to the dignity of their titles; and, what is infinitely worse, they are never likely to be extinct until the last period of all things; because the greatest part of them descend to heirs general. I imagine a person of quality prevailed on to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune, and her friends arguing she was as good as her husband, because she brought him as numerous a family of relations and servants, as she found in his house. Scotland, in the taxes,

* The full passage is: "For the late kingdom of Scotland had as numerous a nobility as England, and the representatives of their Commons were also very numerous; they have by the articles of Union consented to send only sixteen peers, and forty-five commons, to the parliament of Great Britain, which hath the same number of lords and commons for England that were before the Union; so that the Scots representatives can make no stand in the defence of all or any of the articles of the Union, should they be opposed by such unequal numbers of the lords and commons of England; and therefore it is most plain, from the impotence in which so many wise and able men of the Scots nation left themselves in these particulars, that they understood the points of religion in England and Scotland respectively, the succession to the crown of Great Britain, and all other articles of the Union, were never to be controverted."—*Crisis.*

is obliged to contribute one penny for every forty-pence laid upon England; and the representatives they send to parliament are about a thirteenth. Every other Scotch peer has all the privileges of an English one, except that of sitting in parliament, and even precedence before all of the same title that shall be created for the time to come. The pensions and employments possessed by the natives of that country now among us do amount to more than the whole body of their nobility ever spent at home; and all the money they raise upon the public is hardly sufficient to defray their civil and military lists. I could point out some, with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the Union, although their whole revenues, before that period, would have ill maintained a Welsh justice of peace; and have since gathered more money than ever any Scotchman, who had not travelled, could form an idea of.*

* He alludes to John Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, and his brother Archibald Earl of Islay. The duke had been deeply in the counsels of Oxford; but he was rather an enemy to the Duke of Marlborough, than a friend to the Tory interest, and they are said finally to have differed upon the duke's demanding the post of master-general of the ordnance. Upon receiving a refusal he resolved to extort, by force, what favour had failed to procure him, and entered keenly into the cabals of his countrymen, then bent on a dissolution of the Union. The extension of the malt-tax to Scotland being considered as a grievance, the duke, with the Earl of Mar and two Scottish commoners, went to make a formal remonstrance to the queen. And he supported the bill brought into parliament by the Earl of Seafield, for dissolving the Union. All these proceedings having greatly offended the ministry, the duke was deprived of his offices, and remained in opposition until the accession of George I. Swift had been his personal friend, but the breach in politics seems to have dissolved their intimacy; and as our author, on the one hand, threw out the sarcasm in the text upon the duke's character, his grace, on the other, headed the Scottish nobles in their denunciation of the pamphlet and the writer.

I have only one thing more to say upon occasion of the Union; which is, that the author of the Crisis may be fairly proved, from his own citations, to be guilty of high treason. In a paper of his called the Englishman, of October 29, there is an advertisement about taking in subscriptions for printing the Crisis, where the title is published at length with the following clause, which the author thought fit to drop in the publication; ("and that no power on earth can bar, alter, or make void the present settlement of the crown, &c. By Richard Steele.") In his extract of an act of parliament made since the Union, it appears to be "high treason" for "any person, by writing or printing, to maintain and affirm, that the kings or queens of this realm, with and by the authority of parliament, are not able to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to limit and bind the crown, and the descent, limitation, inheritance, and the government thereof." This act being subsequent to the settlement of the crown confirmed at the Union, it is probable some friend of the author advised him to leave out those treasonable words in the printed title-page, which he had before published in the advertisement; and accordingly we find, that in the treatise itself he only "offers it to every good subject's consideration, whether this article of the settlement of the crown is not as firm as the Union itself, and as the settlement of episcopacy in England," &c. And he thinks the "Scots understood it so, that the succession to the crown was never to be controverted."

These I take to be only "treasonable" insinuations; but the advertisement, before mentioned, is actually high treason; for which the author ought to be prosecuted, if that would avail any-

thing under a jurisdiction, where cursing the queen is not above the penalty of twenty marks.

Nothing is more notorious than that the Whigs of late years, both in their writings and discourses, have affected upon all occasions to allow the legitimacy of the Pretender. This makes me a little wonder to see our author labouring to prove the contrary, by producing all the popular chat of those times, and other solid arguments from Fuller's Narrative:* but it must be supposed, that this gentleman acts by the commands of his superiors, who have thought fit at this juncture to issue out new orders, for reasons best known to themselves. I wish they had been more clear in their directions to him upon that weighty point, whether the settlement of the succession in the House of Hanover be alterable or not. I have observed where, in his former pages, he gives it in the negative; but in the turning of a leaf, he has wholly changed his mind. He tells us, he "wonders there can be found any Briton, weak enough to contend against a power in their own nation, which is practised in a much greater degree in other states:" and "how hard it is, that Britain should be debarred the privilege of establishing its own security, by relinquishing only those branches of the royal line, which threaten it with destruction; while other nations never scruple, upon less occasions, to go to much greater lengths;" of which he produces instances in France, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and then adds, "Can Great Britain help to advance men to other thrones, and have no power in limiting its own?" How can a senator, capable of doing

* William Fuller, an impudent impostor, who was pilloried in 1702 for a pretended discovery concerning the birth of the Chevalier St. George.

honour to Sir Thomas Hanmer, be guilty of such ridiculous inconsistencies? "The author of the Conduct of the Allies (says he) has dared to drop insinuations about altering the succession." The author of the Conduct of the Allies writes sense and English; neither of which the author of the Crisis understands. The former thinks "it wrong, in point of policy, to call in a foreign power to be guarantee of our succession, because it puts it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession, without the consent of that prince or state who is guarantee, whatever necessity may happen in future times." Now, if it be high treason to affirm by writing, that the legislature has no such power; and if Mr. Steele thinks it strange that Britain should be debarred this privilege, what could be the crime of putting such a case, that, in future ages, a necessity might happen of limiting the succession, as well as it has happened already?

When Mr. Steele "reflects upon the many solemn, strong barriers (to our succession) of laws and oaths, &c., he thinks all fear vanishes before them." I think so too, provided the epithet *solemn* goes for nothing; because, although I have often heard of a solemn day, a solemn feast, and a solemn coxcomb, yet I can conceive no idea to myself of a solemn barrier. However, be that as it will, his "thoughts, it seems, will not let him rest, but, before he is aware, he asks himself several questions;" and, since he cannot resolve them, I will endeavour to give him what satisfaction I am able. The first is, "What are the marks of a lasting security?" To which I answer, that the signs of it in a kingdom or state are, first, good laws; and, secondly, those laws well executed: we are pretty well provided with the former, but extremely defective in the latter.—Secondly, "What are our tempers

and our hearts at home?" If by ours he means those of himself and his abettors, they are most damnably wicked; impatient for the death of the queen; ready to gratify their ambition and revenge, by all desperate methods; wholly alienate from truth, law, religion, mercy, conscience, or honour.—Thirdly, "In what hands is power lodged abroad?" To answer the question naturally, Lewis XIV. is King of France, Philip V. (by the counsels and acknowledgments of the Whigs) is King of Spain, and so on. If by power he means money, the Duke of Marlborough is thought to have more ready money than all the kings of Christendom together; but, by the peculiar disposition of Providence, it is locked up in a trunk, to which his ambition has no key; and that is our security.—Fourthly, "Are our unnatural divisions our strength?" I think not; but they are the sign of it, for being unnatural they cannot last; and this shows, that union, the foundation of all strength, is more agreeable to our nature.—Fifthly, "Is it nothing to us, which of the princes of Europe has the longest sword?" Not much, if we can tie up his hands, or put a strong shield into those of his neighbours; or if our sword be as sharp as his is long; or if it be necessary for him to turn his own sword into a ploughshare; or if such a sword happens to be in the hands of an infant, or struggled for by two competitors.—Sixthly, "The powerful hand that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us, may it not in time reach a king out to us too?" If the powerful hand he means be that of France, it may reach out as many kings as it pleases, but we will not accept them. Whence does this man get his intelligence? I should think even his brother Ridpath might furnish him with better. What crowns or kingdoms has France

dealt about? Spain was given by the will of the former king, in consequence of that infamous treaty of partition, the adviser of which will, I hope, never be forgot in England. Sicily was disposed of by her majesty of Great Britain; so, in effect, was Sardinia. France, indeed, once reached out a king to Poland, but the people would not receive him. This question of Mr. Steele's was therefore only put *in terrorem*, without any regard to truth.—Seventhly, "Are there no pretensions to our crown that can ever be revived?" There may, for ought I know, be about a dozen; and those, in time, may possibly beget a hundred; but we must do as well as we can. Captain Bessus, when he had fifty challenges to answer, protested he could not fight above three duels a-day. "If the Pretender should fail," says the writer, "the French king has in his quiver a succession of them; the Duchess of Savoy, or her sons, or the dauphin, her grandson." Let me suppose the Chevalier de St. George to be dead; the Duchess of Savoy will then be a pretender, and consequently must leave her husband, because his royal highness (for Mr. Steele has not yet acknowledged him for a king) is in alliance with her British majesty; her sons, when they grow pretenders, must undergo the same fate. But I am at a loss how to dispose of the dauphin, if he happen to be King of France before the pretendership to Britain falls to his share; for I doubt he will never be persuaded to remove out of his own kingdom, only because it is too near England.

But "the Duke of Savoy did, some years ago, put in his claim to the crown of England in right of his wife; and he is a prince of great capacity, in strict alliance with France, and may therefore very well add to our fears of a popish successor." Is it the fault of the present, or of any ministry, that this

prince put in his claim? Must we give him opium to destroy his capacity? or can we prevent his alliance with any prince, who is in peace with her majesty? Must we send to stab or poison all the popish princes, who have any pretended title to our crown by the proximity of blood? What, in the name of God, can these people drive at? what is it they demand? Suppose the present dauphin were now a man, and the King of France, and next popish heir to the crown of England; is he not excluded by the laws of the land? But what regard will he have to our laws? I answer; has not the queen as good a title to the crown of France? and how is she excluded, but by their law against the succession of females, which we are not bound to acknowledge: and is it not in our power to exclude female successors, as well as in theirs? If such a pretence shall prove the cause of a war, what human power can prevent it? But our cause must necessarily be good and righteous; for either the kings of England have been unjustly kept out of the possession of France, or the dauphin, although nearest of kin, can have no legal title to England. And he must be an ill prince indeed, who will not have the hearts and hands of ninety-nine in a hundred among his subjects, against such a popish pretender.

I have been the longer in answering the seventh question, because it led me to consider all he had afterward to say upon the subject of the Pretender. Eighthly, and lastly, he asks himself, "Whether Popery and Ambition are become tame and quiet neighbours?" In this I can give him no satisfaction, because I never was in that street where they live; nor do I converse with any of their friends, only I find they are persons of a very evil reputation. But I am told for certain, that Ambition had

removed her lodging, and lives the very next door to Faction, where they keep such a racket, that the whole parish is disturbed, and every night in an uproar.

This much in answer to those eight uneasy questions put by the author to himself, in order to satisfy every Briton, and give him an occasion of "taking an impartial view of the affairs of Europe in general, as well as of Great Britain in particular."

After enumerating the great actions of the confederate armies, under the command of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, Mr. Steele observes, in the bitterness of his soul, that the "British general, however unaccountable it may be to posterity, was not permitted to enjoy the fruits of his glorious labour." Ten years' fruits, it seems, were not sufficient, and yet they were the fruitfullest campaigns that ever any general cropped. However, I cannot but hope, that posterity will not be left in the dark, but some care taken both of her majesty's glory, and the reputation of those she employs. An impartial historian may tell the world, (and the next age will easily believe what it continues to feel,) that the avarice and ambition of a few factious insolent subjects had almost destroyed their country, by continuing a ruinous war in conjunction with allies, for whose sake principally we fought, who refused to bear their just proportion of their charge, and were connived at in their refusal, for private ends; that these factious people treated the best and kindest of sovereigns with insolence, cruelty, and ingratitude, of which he will be able to produce several instances; that they encouraged persons and principles alien from our religion and government, in order to strengthen their faction; he will tell the

reasons why the general, and first minister, were seduced to be heads of this faction, contrary to the opinions they had always professed. Such an historian will show many reasons, which made it necessary to remove the general and his friends; who, knowing the bent of the nation was against them, expected to lose their power when the war was at an end. Particularly, the historian will discover the whole intrigue of the Duke of Marlborough's endeavouring to procure a commission to be general for life: wherein justice will be done to a person, at that time of high station in the law, who (I mention it to his honour) advised the duke, when he was consulted upon it, not to accept of such a commission. By these, and many other instances which time will bring to light, it may perhaps appear not very unaccountable to posterity, why this great man was dismissed at last; but rather why he was dismissed no sooner.

But this is entering into a wide field. I shall therefore leave posterity to the information of better historians than the author of the Crisis or myself; and go on to inform the present age, in some facts, which the great orator and politician thinks fit to misrepresent, with the utmost degree either of natural or wilful ignorance. He asserts, that in the Duke of Ormond's campaign, "after a suspension of arms between Great Britain and France, proclaimed at the head of the armies, the British troops in the midst of the enemy's garrisons withdrew themselves from their confederates." The fact is directly otherwise; for the British troops were most infamously deserted by the confederates, after all that could be urged by the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Strafford to press the confederate generals not to forsake them. The duke was directed to avoid engaging in any action, until he

had farther orders, because an account of the King of Spain's renunciation was every day expected: this, the Imperialists and the Dutch knew well enough; and therefore proposed to the duke, in that very juncture, to engage the French, for no other reason but to render desperate all the queen's measures toward a peace. Was not the certain possession of Dunkirk of equal advantage to the uncertainty of a battle? A whole campaign under the Duke of Marlborough, with such an acquisition, although at the cost of many thousand lives, and several millions of money, would have been thought very gloriously ended.

Neither, after all, was it a new thing, either in the British general or the Dutch deputies, to refuse fighting, when they did not approve of it. When the Duke of Marlborough was going to invest Bouchain, the deputies of the States pressed him in vain to engage the enemy; and one of them was so far discontented upon his grace's refusal, that he presently became a partizan of the peace; yet I do not remember any clamour then raised here against the duke upon that account. Again, when the French invaded Douay, after the confederates had deserted the Duke of Ormond, Prince Eugene was violently bent upon a battle, and said they should never have another so good an opportunity; but Monsieur ——, a private deputy, rose up, and opposed it so far, that the prince was forced to desist. Was it then more criminal in the Duke of Ormond to refuse fighting by express command of the queen, and in order to get possession of Dunkirk, than for the Duke of Marlborough to give the same refusal, without any such orders, or any such advantage? or shall a Dutch deputy assume more power than the Queen of Great Britain's general, acting by the immediate commands of his sovereign?

"The emperor and the empire" (says Mr. Steele by way of admiration) "continue the war!" Is his imperial majesty able to continue it or not? If he be, then Great Britain has been strangely used for ten years past; then how came it to pass, that of about ten thousand men in his service in Italy at the time of the battle of Turin, there were not above four thousand paid by himself? If he be not able to continue it, why does he go on? The reasons are clear; because the war only affects the princes of the empire, whom he is willing enough to expose, but not his own dominions. Besides, his Imperial ministers are in daily expectation of the queen's death; which they hope will give a new turn to affairs, and rekindle the war in Europe upon the old foot; and we know how the ministers of that court publicly assign it for a reason of their obstinacy against peace, that they hope for a sudden revolution in England. In the meantime, this appearance of the emperor's being forsaken by his ally will serve to increase the clamour, both here and in Holland, against her majesty and those she employs.

Mr. Steele says, "There can be no crime in affirming, (if it be truth,) that the house of Bourbon is at this juncture become more formidable, and bids fairer for a universal monarchy, and to engross the whole trade of Europe, than it did before the war."

"No crime in affirming it, if it be truth." I will for once allow his proposition. But, if it be false, then I affirm, that whoever advances so seditious a falsehood deserves to be hanged. Does he mean, by the house of Bourbon, the two kings of France and Spain? If so, I reject his meaning, which would insinuate, that the interests and designs of both those princes will be the same; whereas they are

more opposite than those of any two other monarchs in Christendom. This is the whole foolish slander so frequently flung upon the peace, and as frequently refuted. These factious undertakers of the press write with great advantage; they strenuously affirm a thousand falsehoods, without fear, wit, conscience, or knowledge; and we, who answer them, must be at the expence of an argument for each; after which, in the very next pamphlet, we see the same assertions produced again, without the least notice of what has been said to disprove them. By the house of Bourbon, does he mean only the French king for the time being? If so, and his assertion be true, then that prince must deal with the devil, or else the money and blood spent in our ten years' victories against him might as well have continued in the purses and veins of her majesty's subjects.

But the particular assertions of this author are easier detected than his general ones; I shall therefore proceed upon examining the former. For instance: I desire him to ask the Dutch, who can best inform him, "why they delivered up Traerbach to the Imperialists?" for, as to the queen, her majesty was never once consulted in it, whatever his preceptors, the politicians of Button's Coffeehouse, may have informed him to the contrary.*

Mr. Steele affirms, that the French "have begun the demolition of Dunkirk contemptuously and arbitrarily their own way." The governor of the town, and those gentlemen intrusted with the inspection of this work, do assure me, that the fact is

* "All the world knows with what frankness the Dutch have been treated to deliver up Traerbach to the Imperialists, as an expedient for the French to besiege it; because, forsooth, it lay convenient for their incursions upon the empire. This extravagant demand must give a melancholy prospect to other nations."—*Crisis.*

altogether otherwise; that the method prescribed by those whom her majesty employs has been exactly followed, and that the works are already demolished. I will venture to tell him farther, that the demolition was so long deferred, in order to remove those difficulties which the barrier treaty has put us under; and the event has shown, that it was prudent to proceed no faster, until those difficulties were got over. The mole and harbour could not be destroyed until the ships were got out; which by reason of some profound secrets of state, did not happen until the other day. Who "gave him those just suspicions, that the mole and harbour will never be destroyed?" What is it he would now insinuate? that the ministry is bribed to leave the most important part of the work undone; or that the Pretender is to invade us from thence; or that the queen has entered into a conspiracy with her servants, to prevent the good effects of the peace, for no other end but to lose the affections of her people, and endanger herself?

Instead of any farther information, which I could easily give, but which no honest man can want, I venture to affirm, that the mole and harbour of Dunkirk will in a short time be most effectually destroyed; and at the same time, I venture to prophesy, that neither Mr. Steele, nor his faction, will ever confess they believe it.

After all, it is a little hard that the queen cannot be allowed to demolish this town, in whatever manner she pleases to fancy. Mr. Steele must have it done in his own way, and is angry the French have pretended to do it in theirs; and yet he wrongs them into the bargain. For my own part, I do seriously think the Most Christian King to be a much better friend of her majesty's than Mr. Steele, or any of his faction. Besides, it is to

be considered, that he is a monarch and a relation; and therefore, if I were a privy counsellor, and my advice to be asked, which of those two gentlemen born * should have the direction in the demolition of Dunkirk, I will give it for the former; because I look upon Mr. Steele, in quality of a member of his party, to be much more skilful in "demolishing at home" than "abroad."

There is a prospect of more danger to the balance of Europe, and to the trade of Britain, from the emperor overrunning Italy, than from France overrunning the empire. That his imperial majesty entertains such thoughts is visible to the world: and although little can be said to justify many actions of the French king, yet the worst of them have never equalled the emperor's arbitrary keeping the possession of Milan, directly contrary to his oath, and to the express words of the golden bull, which oblige him to deliver up every fief that falls, or else they must all, in the course of time, lapse into his own hands.

I was at a loss who it was that Mr. Steele hinted at some time ago, by "the powerful hand that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us." I now plainly find he meant no other hand but his own. He has dealt out the crown of Spain to France; to France he has given leave to invade the empire next spring, with two hundred thousand men; and now, at last, he deals to France the imperial dignity; and so "farewell liberty;" Europe will be French. But, in order to bring all this about, "the capital of Austria, the residence of his imperial majesty," must continue to be "visited by the plague," of which the emperor must die, and so the thing is done.†

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* Mr. Steele often styles himself so.

† "Landau and Fribourg are taken; and in case there is no

Why should not I venture to "deal out one sceptre" in my turn, as well as Mr. Steele? I therefore "deal out" the empire to the Elector of Saxony, upon failure of issue, to this emperor at his death; provided the Whigs will prevail on the son to turn papist, to get an empire, as they did upon the father, to get a kingdom. Or, if this prince be not approved of, I deal it out in his stead to the Elector of Bavaria; and in one or the other of these, I dare engage to have all Christendom to second me, whatever the spleen, in the shape of politics, may dictate to the author of the Crisis.

The design of Mr. Steele, in representing the "circumstances of the affairs of Europe," is to signify to the world, that all Europe is put in the high road to slavery, by the corruption of her majesty's present ministers; and so he goes on to Portugal; which, "having during the war supplied us with gold in exchange for our woollen manufacture, has only at present a suspension of arms for its protection, to last no longer than till the Catalonians are reduced, and then the old pretensions of Spain to Portugal will be revived;" and Portugal, when once enslaved by Spain, falls naturally, with the rest of Europe, into the gulf of France. In the meantime, let us see what relief a little truth can give this unhappy kingdom. That Portugal has yet no more

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intermediate peace, which may still be more immediately fatal to us, two hundred thousand French may be ready in the spring to invade the empire, and restore the Duke of Bavaria to his forfeited dominions.

"These incidents happen when the capital of Austria, the residence of his Imperial majesty, is visited with the plague. The male line of that house is likely to terminate in himself; and should it please God to take him off, and no King of the Romans chosen, a prince of the house of Bourbon would probably bid fair for the imperial dignity; after which day, farewell liberty, Europe would be French."—*Crisis.*

than a suspension of arms, they may thank themselves, because they came so late into the treaty; and that they came so late, they may thank the Whigs, whose false representations they were so weak as to believe. However, the queen has voluntarily given them a guarantee to defend them against Spain, until the peace shall be made; and such terms after the peace are stipulated for them, as the Portuguese themselves are contented with.

Having mentioned the Catalonians, he puts the question, "Who can name the Catalonians without a tear?" That can I; for he has told so many melancholy stories without one syllable of truth, that he has blunted the edge of my fears, and I shall not be startled at the worst he can say. What he affirms concerning the Catalonians is included in the following particulars: First, "that they were drawn into the war by the encouragement of the maritime powers;" by which are understood England and Holland: but he is too good a friend of the Dutch to give them any part of the blame. Secondly, that "they are now abandoned and exposed to the resentment of an enraged prince." Thirdly, that "they always opposed the person and interest of that prince," who is their present king. Lastly, that "the doom is dreadful of those who shall, in the sight of God, be esteemed their destroyers." And if we interpret the insinuation he makes, according to his own mind, the destruction of those people must be imputed to the present ministry.

I am sometimes, in charity, disposed to hope, that this writer is not always sensible of the flagrant falsehoods he utters, but is either biassed by an inclination to believe the worst, or a want of judgment to choose his informers. That the "Catalonians" were "drawn into the war by the encouragement of her majesty," should not in decency have

been affirmed, until about fifty years hence, when it might be supposed there would be no living witness left to disprove it. It was only upon the assurances of a revolt given by the Prince of Hesse and others, and their invitation, that the queen was prevailed with to send her forces upon that expedition. When Barcelona was taken, by a most unexpected accident of a bomb lighting on the magazine,* then indeed the Catalonians revolted, having before submitted and sworn allegiance to Philip, as much as any other province of Spain. Upon the peace between that crown and Britain, the queen, in order to ease the emperor, and save his troops, stipulated with King Philip for a neutrality in Italy, and that his imperial majesty should have liberty to evacuate Catalonia, upon condition of absolute indemnity of the Catalans, with an entire restitution to their honours, dignities, and estates. As this neutrality was never observed by the emperor, so he never effectually evacuated Catalonia; for, although he sent away the main body, he left behind many officers and private men, who now spirit up and assist those obstinate people to continue in their rebellion. It is true, indeed, that King Philip did not absolutely restore the Catalans to all their old privileges, of which they never made other use than as an encouragement to rebel; but admitted them to the same privileges with his subjects of Castile, particularly to the liberty of trading, and having employments in the West Indies, which they never enjoyed before. Besides, the queen reserved to herself the power of procuring farther immunities for them, wherein the Most Christian King was obliged to second her; for, his Catholic majesty intended no more than to retrench

* Or rather by the gallantry with which Lord Peterborough stormed the fortress of Monjouick.

those privileges, under the pretext of which they now rebel, as they had formerly done in favour of France. "How dreadful then must be the doom of those," who hindered these people from submitting to the gentle terms offered them by their prince! and who, although they be conscious of their own inability to furnish one single ship for the support of the Catalans, are at this instant spurring them on to their ruin, by promises of aid and protection!

Thus much in answer to Mr. Steele's account of the affairs of Europe, from which he deduces the universal monarchy of France, and the danger of I know not how many popish successors to Britain. His political reflections are as good as his facts. "We must observe," says he, "that the person who seems to be the most favoured by the French king in the late treaties is the Duke of Savoy." Extremely right: for, whatever that prince got by the peace, he owes entirely to her majesty as a just reward for his having been so firm and useful an ally; neither was France brought with more difficulty to yield any one point, than that of allowing the duke such a barrier as the queen insisted on.

"He is become the most powerful prince in Italy." I had rather see him so than the emperor. "He is supposed to have entered into a secret and strict alliance with the house of Bourbon." This is one of those facts wherein I am most inclined to believe the author, because it is what he must needs be utterly ignorant of, and therefore may possibly be true.

I thought, indeed, we should be safe from all popish successors as far as Italy, because of the prodigious clutter about sending the Pretender thither. But they will never agree where to fix their longitude. The Duke of Savoy is the more dangerous

for removing to Sicily: he "adds to our fears" for being "too far off," and the Chevalier St. George for being "too near." So, "whether France conquer Germany, or be in peace and good understanding with it," either event "will put us and Holland at the mercy of France, which has a quiver full of pretenders at its back, whenever the chevalier shall die."

This was just the logic of poor Prince Butler, a splenetic madman, whom everybody may remember about the town. Prince Pamphilio in Italy employed emissaries to torment Prince Butler here. But what if Prince Pamphilio die? Why then he had left in his will, that his heirs and executors torment Prince Butler for ever.

I cannot think it a misfortune, what Mr. Steele affirms, "That treasonable books lately dispersed among us, striking apparently at the Hanover succession, have passed almost without observation from the generality of the people;" because it seems a certain sign, that "the generality of the people" are well disposed to that illustrious family; but I look upon it as a great evil, to see seditious books "dispersed among us, apparently striking" at the queen and her administration, at the constitution in church and state, and at all religion; yet "passing without observation from the generality of" those in power: but whether this remissness may be imputed to Whitehall or Westminster Hall, is other men's business to inquire. Mr. Steele knows in his conscience, that the Queries concerning the Pretender issued from one of his own party. And as for the poor nonjuring clergyman, who was trusted with committing to the press a late book "on the subject of hereditary right," by a strain of a *summum jus*, he is now, as I am told, with half a score children, starving and rotting among thieves and pickpockets,

in the common room of a stinking jail.* I have never seen either the book or the publisher; however, I would fain ask "one single person"† in the world a question; why he has so often drank the abdicated king's health upon his knees?—But the transition is natural and frequent, and I shall not trouble him for an answer.

It is the hardest case in the world, that Mr. Steele should take up the artificial reports of his own faction, and then put them off upon the world, as "additional fears of a popish successor." I can assure him, that no good subject of the queen's is under the least concern, whether the Pretender be converted or not,‡ farther than their wishes that all men would embrace the true religion. But reporting backward and forward upon this point, helps to keep up the noise, and is a topic for Mr. Steele to enlarge himself upon, by showing how little we can depend upon such conversions, by collecting a list of

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* Swift follows Steele in his allusion to the trial of Hilkiah Bedford, a nonjuring clergyman, real or ostensible author of a work called "The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England asserted." As it was asserted by the Whigs, that the ministry had approved of the book; that Mr. Secretary Bromley had been active in giving it circulation; and that the author had received the assistance of some manuscripts in the lord-treasurer's library, they felt themselves obliged to animadvert upon the Jacobitical tenets it contained. The printer was apprehended and examined. The author, or editor, then came forward, was tried, and sentenced to imprisonment in the Queen's Bench for three years, and to be pilloried in Westminster Hall. But the latter part of the punishment was remitted.

† Parker, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield, is here meant. Perhaps his sense of the sarcasm made him treat the printer of the pamphlet with more severity, when brought into the King's Bench, of which he was then Lord Chief Justice.

‡ Steele had alluded to the mission of Charles Lesley, the nonjuror, who went to Bar Le Duc, on the hopeful scheme of converting the Chevalier St. George to the English faith.

popish cruelties, and repeating, after himself and the Bishop of Sarum, the dismal effects likely to follow upon the return of that superstition among us.

But, as this writer is reported by those who know him to be what the French call *journalier*, his fear and courage operating according to the weather in our uncertain climate; I am apt to believe the two last pages of his Crisis were written on a sunshiny day. This I guess from the general tenor of them, and particularly from an unwary assertion, which, if he believes as firmly as I do, will at once overthrow all his foreign and domestic fears of a popish successor. "As divided a people as we are, those who stand for the house of Hanover are infinitely superior in number, wealth, courage, and all arts military and civil, to those in the contrary interest;" beside which, we have "the laws, I say, the laws on our side." The laws, I say, the laws. This elegant repetition is, I think, a little out of place; for the stress might better have been laid upon so great a majority of the nation; without which, I doubt the laws would be of little weight, although they be very good additional securities. And if what he here asserts be true, as it certainly is, although he assert it, (for I allow even the majority of his own party to be against the Pretender), there can be no danger of a popish successor, except from the unreasonable jealousies of the best among that party, and from the malice, the avarice, or ambition of the worst; without which, Britain would be able to defend her succession against all her enemies, both at home and abroad. Most of the dangers from abroad, which he enumerates as the consequences of this very bad peace made by the queen, and approved by parliament, must have subsisted under any peace at all; unless, among other projects equally feasible, we could have stipulated to

cut the throats of every popish relation to the royal family.

Well, by this author's own confession, a number infinitely superior, and the best circumstantiated imaginable, are for the succession in the house of Hanover. This succession is established, confirmed, and secured by several laws; her majesty's repeated declarations, and the oaths of all her subjects, engage both her and them to preserve what those laws have settled. This is a security indeed, a security adequate at least to the importance of the thing; and yet, according to the Whig scheme, as delivered to us by Mr. Steele and his coadjutors, is altogether insufficient; and the succession will be defeated, the Pretender brought in, and popery established among us, without the farther assistance of this writer and his faction.

And what securities have our adversaries substituted in the place of these? A club of politicians, where Jenny Man presides; a Crisis written by Mr. Steele; a confederacy of knavish stock-jobbers to ruin credit; a report of the queen's death; an effigies of the Pretender run twice through the body by a valiant peer; a speech by the author of the Crisis; and, to sum up all, an unlimited freedom of reviling her majesty, and those she employs.

I have now finished the most disgustful task that ever I undertook. I could with more ease have written three dull pamphlets, than remarked upon the falsehoods and absurdities of one. But I was quite confounded last Wednesday, when the printer came with another pamphlet in his hand, written by the same author, and entitled, "The Englishman, being the Close of the Paper so called," &c. He desired I would read it over, and consider it in a paper by itself; which last I absolutely refused. Upon perusal, I found it chiefly an invective against

Toby,* the ministry, the Examiner, the clergy, the queen, and the Postboy; yet, at the same time, with great justice exclaiming against those, who presumed to offer the least word against the heads of that faction, whom her majesty discarded. The author likewise proposes an "equal division of favour and employments," between the Whigs and Tories; for, if the former "can have no part or portion in David,† they desire no longer to be his subjects." He insists, that "her majesty has exactly followed Monsieur Tugghe's Memorial against the demolishing of Dunkirk." He reflects with "great satisfaction on the good already done to his country by the Crisis." *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis*, &c. He gives us hopes that he will leave off writing, "and consult his own quiet and happiness;" and concludes with "a letter to a friend at court." I suppose by the style of "old friend," and the like, it must be somebody there of his own level; among whom his party have indeed more friends than I could wish. In this letter he asserts that the present ministers were not educated in the church of England, but are "new converts from presbytery." Upon which I can only reflect, how blind the malice of that man must be, who invents a groundless lie in order to defame his superiors, which would be no disgrace if it had been a truth. And he concludes with making three demands "for the satisfaction of himself," and other "malecontents." First, "the demolition of the harbour of Dunkirk." Secondly, "that Great Britain and

* Alluding to a pamphlet, which had, at this time, a great deal of popularity, entitled, "The Character of Richard St—le, Esq., with some remarks by Toby, Abel's kinsman; or, according to Mr. Calancy, A F and N, in a letter to his Godfather." 12mo. 1713.

† What portion have we in David?—*Orig. Note.*

France would heartily join against the exorbitant power of the Duke of Lorraine, and force the Pretender from his asylum at Bar le Duc." Lastly, "that his electoral highness of Hanover would be so grateful to signify to all the world the perfect good understanding he has with the court of England, in as plain terms as her majesty was pleased to declare she had with that house, on her part."

As to the first of these demands, I will venture to undertake it shall be granted; but then Mr. Steele, and his brother malecontents, must promise to believe the thing is done, after those employed have made their report, or else bring vouchers to disprove it. Upon the second; I cannot tell whether her majesty will engage in a war against the Duke of Lorraine, to "force him to remove the Pretender;" but I believe, if the parliament should think it necessary to address upon such an occasion, the queen would move that prince to send him away. His last demand, offered under the title of a wish, is of so insolent and seditious a strain, that I care not to touch it. Here he directly charges her majesty with delivering a falsehood to her parliament from the throne; and declares he will not believe her, until the Elector of Hanover himself shall vouch for the truth of what she has so solemnly affirmed.

I agree with this writer, that it is an idle thing in his antagonists to trouble themselves upon the "articles of his birth, education, or fortune;" for whoever writes at this rate of his sovereign, to whom he owes so many personal obligations, I should never inquire whether he be a *gentleman born*, but whether he be a human creature.

A

LETTER

FROM THE

FACETIOUS DR. ANDREW TRIPE,

AT BATH,

TO THE

VENERABLE NESTOR IRONSIDE.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE RECEPTION MR. IRONSIDE'S LATE PRESENT OF A GUARDIAN MET WITH FROM THE WORSHIPFUL MR. MAYOR, AND OTHER SUBSTANTIAL INHABITANTS OF THAT ANCIENT CITY.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, A PRESCRIPTION FROM THE DOCTOR, BY WAY OF POSTSCRIPT, EXACTLY SUITED TO HIS DISTEMPER.

The adventure of the Bear and Fiddle
Is sung, but breaks off in the middle. HUD.

Parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis
Astra ferar; nomenq. erit indelibile nostrum. OVID.

London, Printed for J. MORPHEW, near Stationers-Hall, 1714.
Price 6d.

—o—

THIS letter seems to have internal marks of Swift's corrections, though chiefly written by one of those subordinate party authors whom he calls "his under spur-leathers." Arbuthnot probably lent his aid, as may be conjectured from the profuse use of

medical terms. The letter is a bitter satire upon Steele, who, the reader need hardly be reminded, wrote the Guardian, under the title of Nestor Ironside, and the Tatler, under that of Isaac Bickerstaff. The piece contains a satirical description of Steele's person; and, should the Editor be mistaken in conjecturing that Swift contributed to compose it, may nevertheless, at this distance of time, merit preservation as a literary curiosity.

The immediate occasion for the satire was given by the Guardian, No. 174, published 30th September 1713, which is employed upon the state of the polite world at Bath, and concludes thus:—"Every man who hath received any benefit there ought, in proportion to his abilities, to improve, adorn, or recommend it. A prince should found hospitals, and the noble and rich may diffuse their ample charities. Mr. Tompion gave a clock to the Bath, and I, Nestor Ironside, have dedicated a Guardian."

The tract should regularly have been inserted amongst those imputed to Swift; but it seemed more desirable to place together all those which had reference to Steele.

—o—

RIGHT VENERABLE,

THAT aggregate philosopher, Mr. Isaac Bickerstaff, of most memorable countenance, does, I remember, in several of his moral aphorisms, make very honourable mention of himself, for such of his essays, as were levelled at the general benefit of mankind; and, upon this head, does fairly give himself the preference to all the learned, his contemporaries, from Dr. Sw—ft himself, even down to Poet Cr—spe of the Customhouse.

This, with due respect to his memory, savours somewhat more of self-love, than could be well expected from so unbiassed a philosopher; for I can see no reason, nor do I believe he himself could, why the elaborate productions of those who sweat hard to rescue the laudable actions of the town, or corporation, where they either were born, or of which they were inhabitants, from the jaws of

oblivion, and transmit them with decency to posterity, should not deserve at least an equal encomium.

Upon this consideration, I have, with unwearied application, and no small expence in coffee and tobacco, perused all the neotegraphical tracts, as well foreign as domestic, lately published by those painful and accurate penmen, the news-writers, as the vulgar term them, that I might thoroughly inform myself what account they gave the world, of the magnificent reception, which the inhabitants of this ancient and noble city of Bath gave to the invaluable present, which you did them the honour lately to make them; and see whether they handled so important a point, with that nicety of truth, and majesty of style, that the history of so solemn a ceremony required. But, to my great astonishment, and much greater concern, I found them all (to their discredit be it spoken) as silent upon the matter, as if such a thing had never been, *in rerum natura;* or at least had happened in the dark days of popery and ignorance.

It is true, it is hard to condemn so numerous and so eminent a body of learned men, in some whereof, it is possible, it might be unpremeditated omission: but in others, especially those of our own island, I cannot forbear thinking it was downright spleen and envy: and (God forgive me) I have a strong suspicion, that my very good friend, the indefatigable, and judicious Mr. Abel, whom I look upon to be the president of all the Hebdomadal writers of this century, has a great deal to answer on this head. In love therefore to the town of Bath, to which I have the honour of being physician in ordinary; and, out of my most profound respect, Sir, for your venerable person, (whose unparalleled bounty I would gladly see perpetuated to all suc-

ceeding ages,) I have diligently consulted our public records, and with utmost fidelity transcribed from them the following copy :—

"Sometime about the latter end of October, *Anno 12 Reginæ Annæ*,* as Mr. Mayor, Mr. Recorder, the facetious Dr. Andrew Tripe, (meaning your most humble servant,) Mr. Lenitive the apothecary, and several other worthy citizens, were one afternoon at the coffeehouse, gravely discoursing of politics, and were insensibly fallen into a polemical argument, upon this intricate and important question, Whether, in case the Pope of Rome should have a fancy to alter his state, and take unto him a wife, an act of parliament would be either a necessary, or a sufficient warrant for his so doing? While the point was discussed with that solidity of learning, and maturity of thought, that could be expected from a company of such bright men, especially upon so ticklish a subject, who should come in, but Mr. Isaac Bickerstaff, intelligencer-general of the town, by whose earnest looks, and violent panting for breath, they soon perceived that he was big with some occurrence of moment, of which he wanted to be immediately delivered."

But, before I proceed any further in this great undertaking, I find myself obliged, most learned sage, by the rules of method, to make a small digression, in order to give you a cursory description of the person, parts, and profession of Mr. Isaac Bickerstaff, because I conceive it to be a preliminary absolutely requisite towards the right understanding of this great history, and because, without such digression, (according to agreement with my bookseller,) this my letter would not make so considerable a figure as to reach the price of sixpence, which,

* Regist. ann. 12 Reginæ Annæ, fol. 36.

however, as it is *inter nos*, I desire may remain a secret between me and my reader.

Mr. Isaac, you must know, Sir, is much about your own age and size, and, if I may credit those who pretend to know you, not unlike you in the face. He is of a saturnine complexion, not without some visible indications of suffering much by the obstructions in the *hippocondria*, from whence heavy and caliginous fumes continually ascending to the region of his head, do powerfully invade the territory of his brain, where, meeting with little resistance, through the too much natural imbecility of the part, they make a most sad havock in the *glandula pinealis*. This renders him anxious all the while he is awake, disturbs him when asleep, and makes him dream of nothing else but chains, gallies, gibbets, raw-heads and bloody bones, by the terrifying relation of which, he often frightens many of the children of her majesty's good subjects from their bread and butter.

He has naturally a downcast foreboding aspect, which they of the country hereabouts call a hanging look, and an unseemly manner of staring, with his mouth wide open, and under-lip propending, especially when any ways disturbed; which is a vehement diagnosis, that there is a great relaxation in the optic nerves, by which their communication with the *pia mater* is become unactive, and the poignancy of the intellects rendered obtuse.

He takes a great deal of pains to persuade his neighbours that he has a very short face,* and a little flat nose, like a diminutive wart, in the middle

* The reader cannot have forgot this circumstance, in the description of the Spectator. It corresponded with the conformation of Swift's own visage, and is, in this paragraph, invidiously contrasted with the Roman nose of William III.

of his visage, because he was told once by a Dutch fortune-teller, that high hooked noses were very ominous, and denoted cowardice, whereas that other symmetry was an infallible indication of choler predominant, which, he hopes, may upon occasion supply his natural want of courage.

His eyes are large and prominent, too big of all conscience for the conceited narrowness of his phiz, and have been for some years very subject to an infirmity, which we doctors call the *gutta-serena;* and though he has been often told of the wonderful cures lately performed by the famous ophthalmist Dr. Henrick, all over the kingdom, he will not be persuaded to make use of him, but calls him quack, at the same time that he knows full well, that the honest doctor is allowed by the college to practise, after a most rigorous examination.

His back, though not very broad, is well turned, and will bear a great deal; I have seen him myself, more than once, carry a vast load of timber. His legs also are tolerably substantial, and can stride very wide upon occasion; but the best thing about him is a handsome pair of heels, which he takes special pride to show, not only to his friends, but even to the very worst of his enemies.

As to his parts, he sets up for a virtuoso, a philosopher, and what not! And does not only believe it himself, but has persuaded others too, that he has a monstrous wit. One day he gave bills about for folks to come and see it, but unadvisedly demanding twopence a-piece, he was hissed, and hooted at, in a most unbecoming manner.* This made him afterwards be somewhat cautious

* The Spectator, in consequence of the tax on loose pamphlets, was raised to twopence a number, but did not long survive that enhancement of price.

how he ventured abroad with it; and it is observed, that, almost ever since, all his discourses have been gravely dull, without the least larding of wit.

Notwithstanding this, men of as profound parts as himself do really allow, that he has not only a genius naturally adapted to schemes and projects, but was actually the first inventor of certain surprising paper machines, which, by only looking upon them, make people almost as wise as they were before, to the great wonder and satisfaction of all the beholders. It was he also that first discovered, that the chin of man was a musical instrument, and taught boys how to play upon it; a harmony indeed altogether unknown to antiquity. And I am credibly informed, that he has now almost brought to perfection a system for fixing the moveable feasts, after so wonderful a manner, that, from this present year one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, to the year seventeen thousand and twenty-four, inclusive, Easter-day may always fall on a Sunday; which must needs be of vast use towards reconciling the ill natured difference so long maintained betwixt the Julian and Gregorian account.

He has moreover an exquisite faculty in finding out the harmony of monosyllables, by the help of which he can easily muster, upon occasion, a power of pretty sounding words, signifying nothing. This he calls his art of lerology, that is, of saying a great deal to little purpose, and designs it for a perpetual fund to pay his debts with.

It is reported by some, that he has attained the menstruum of Hermes; and can make the basest of Dutch coin pass for true sterling. Others will have it, that he dreams with his eyes open; can dissolve ice by the help of fire, and tell boys, by looking in their faces, if their noses stand awry; for which he has been reputed a necromancer. But his master-

talent lies in picking up and retailing of threadbare stories; and it is to his wonderful sagacity herein, that we of this town owe the first hints of the death of that worshipful knight, Sir Roger de Coverly. But there is a dreadful misfortune attends him, that, as he seldom speaks truth, so he is seldom or never believed: and as he not only will invent most unmerciful relations of matters here and there transacted, so he has another property, that for the heart's blood of him, he cannot tell a story as it is told him, but let it be never so often repeated, will be sure to endeavour to adorn it with his own flourishes, and the gentle reader is often disappointed, when he thinks himself sure of knowing something; which, whether it proceeds from any lesion, or defect in the cerebellum, from a natural dulness of apprehension, or a *deceptio visus* of his memory, will appear one of these days, when his brains come, after a decent execution, to be dissected at Surgeons' Hall.

Although some invidious persons have endeavoured, by oblique hints, to suggest that he is no scholar, it is a most malicious insinuation; for, to my own knowledge, he went sometimes to school, when he was a boy; and I can solemnly affirm, that, besides a curious dissertation which he has lately published upon the liberty and property of the three great contending rivals, WHO, THAT, and WHICH,* and the entertaining dialogues betwixt the Watchman and his Goose,† this very individual Mr. Isaac Bickerstaff has actually in the press a most elaborate treatise, which must needs be of inconceivable emolument to such of the inhabitants of this island as can neither read nor write; of which, I am told, the generality of his subscribers consist. In this

* Spectator, Nos. 78, 80. † Spectator, No. 376.

learned piece, it is said, he has demonstrated, almost mathematically, with what brightness and vivacity he can abstract acts of parliament; and that, to the no little mortification of some nocturnal pains-takers about the Temple, he has made as great a proficiency in the law as ever he did in physic or divinity, or any other art or science.

His elocution is not what ought to be least admired; and, bating that he is very apt sometimes to mistake one thing for another, I know no man alive will talk more of matters altogether beyond his reach; which I take to proceed from hence, that, having had his first education in a coffeehouse, where such bright men as you and I did usually resort, and heard them frequently discourse of the interest of England, balance of Europe, exorbitant growth of France, danger of popery, prerogative of the crown, rights of the people, power of parliament, Magna Charta, religion, liberty, property, commerce, navigation, and the like, he was so charmed with the sound, that, without troubling his head in the least about the true meaning of those terms, he got a reasonable quantity of them by heart, which he repeats at random in all company; and has in a great measure persuaded himself into a belief, that his being so often in the room where these gentlemen used to talk, is reason enough for him to understand the matter as well as they did;—like Bessus the Centurion, of whom a certain author of great antiquity writes, that he fancied himself to be unmeasurably valiant, because he happened once to march along with an army of fifty thousand gallant Lacedæmonians; or that other extraordinary person, I think his name was Rhodomontadoides, mentioned somewhere by Strabo, who having but a bare promise once of seeing the Roman senate in a full house, it so tickled his fancy, that he already be-

lieved himself wise enough to prescribe laws to the whole empire.

I must not undertake, O wise man, to inform you exactly what religion he is of; for though he will shake the parson of the parish familiarly by the hand, make him a reverend bow as he passes by, and follow him sometimes to the church; yet he declares publicly, that he cannot be reconciled to the church-wardens, for suffering the pulpit to stand too high, or rather for suffering the pew to stand by the pulpit.

Profaneness and immorality are what he cannot justly be taxed with; for he has a discreet woman to his wife, who keeps a very strict hand over him, and, by giving him now and then due and wholesome correction, makes him live within decent bounds: for which, though he dares not mutter a syllable within her hearing, for fear of the strapado, he rails most bitterly at petticoat government behind her back; and says, it is a burning shame, that women should be suffered to have so great a sway, when there are so many good men in Germany.*

One thing I had like to have forgot, and that is, his most profound skill in the rules of motion, especially that branch of it that relates to dancing, which he defines "an epitome of all human learning." And I am told by an intimate of his, that he has now ready for the press, several curious essays upon the several parts of that truly noble and comprehensive science, wherein he proves, by arguments physical, musical, and mathematical, that dancing is not only the *primum mobile* of all arts

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* This paragraph contains a satirical allusion to the discipline exercised over poor Steele by his lady, and also to his zeal for the succession of the House of Hanover, whose interest, the text would insinuate, he preferred to that of Queen Anne.

and sciences; but that the motion of the sun, moon, and other celestial bodies, is but a sort of a Cheshire round, which they dance to the music of the spheres. And moreover, that the principal seat of human souls, especially those of the fair sex, is in the heels, of which he gives this as an experimental demonstration, that whenever you take a woman fast hold by them, it is ten to one but her soul is your own; besides several other new and valuable discoveries, too many to be inserted here, which I pass *euphoniæ gratia*, to come to his profession.

This was lately what, in some sense, might be termed martial; for he was a serjeant in the militia, and in a fair way of mounting in time to the dignity of provost, but, having a natural aversion to that French familiar way of hitting one another most ungentlemanlike blows, too frequent amongst military men, he judiciously laid aside his halbert, and is now saluted by the name of doctor.

I cannot omit inserting here, that some have industriously spread a report, that he formerly had got his living, as his father had done before him, by subverting and new modelling the ancient constitution of English beards in church and state; and was, what we vulgarly call a barber, from the Latin word *barba*, which, according to some authors of note and antiquity, signifies, you know, that portion of hair that grows upon human faces. But I do *bona fide* look upon this part of the story to be altogether apocryphal.

As to his present circumstances, I can vouch for him, that he is above all such calumnies, and in a fair way of soon having the whip hand of all the malignants that oppose him; for he has not only a prospect of being beadle of his parish, if the churchwardens will but approve of his election; but has already a magisterial recipe, with which he does not

doubt, if you believe his printed bills, to cure all such of our countrymen as are troubled with the heart-burn, and grumblings in the gizzard, provided they will but religiously abstain from mentioning the two fatal words, Nantz and Bourdeaux, which, with immense labour and study, he has lately discovered to be impregnated with an occult quality highly destructive to the English commerce.

He extols to the very sky his new method of preparing Steele-pills, with which he proposes in time to open all the obstructed spleens of this nation. This is also a narcotic and a nostrum; but his *arcanum magnum* is, his *emplastrum pro nucha*, which, I am fully satisfied, is a specific catholicon for all distempers, if rightly applied, and tied on *secundum artem* under the left ear. This he has studied *ex professo* for the present ease and relief of such of his friends as are not very well in their minds; and I hope they will find the benefit of it. It is a noble preparation of hemp-seed, which he holds to be that true seed of the right female fern, so mightily cried up by modern philosophers.

All these great points thus duly premised, it is not improbable, but that in the frontispiece of a well bound book, you may one of these days meet with this great man's *very effigies*, handsomely cut, and underneath it, his name Isaacus Bickerstaffius printed at full length, with an *anno ætat.*, &c., and the additional title of *medicus;* which he may very well do, if what a modern critic of stupendous erudition observes in his annotations upon Horace, be true, that the words *medicus* and *madicus* were anciently usurped by most of the Arabian writers, to signify the self-same thing, though of late days they are quite of a different acceptation.

Having thus far, most venerable sage, trespassed upon your patience, and given you succinctly such

items as were absolutely necessary, I think myself obliged to acquaint you what opinion some persons have conceived of you and of your late behaviour, and correspondence with the inimitable Mr. Bickerstaff.

There are, I can assure you, who with confidence have reported, that your new acquaintance has debauched your principles, and since his declaring himself of the profession, he has given you some bewitching philtre, by which he has gained an absolute ascendant over your will and understanding, and instilled such notions into you as are altogether heterodox, antimonarchical, and unworthy of your character. It has been spread abroad, that, like Sir Sydrophel of old, he has persuaded you, that the clouds were enchanted castles, filled with arms, ammunition, magic spells and sorcerers, and that with squibs and crackers, and stink-pots, you have attempted to demolish them. I wish I could recount all the stories told concerning you; how many ridiculous pamphlets you have wrote, what pranks you have played, what good you have disposed of, how many sorts of strong-waters you are used to drink in twenty-four hours, and who has been forced to pay the reckoning; what deliriums you have run into; how you have asserted, that every man in England is accountable to you, and, as the representative of the whole British nation, have drawn up memorials concerning her majesty's maladministration, and, in the name of all her subjects, demanded justice of her against herself. One thing, Sir, I more particularly remember they said of you, and which is scarcely possible to be believed, that you attempted to make an Englishman of Teague. It is strange, says I to some gentlemen who were talking after this manner, how one man may be mistaken in another. I remember this old man; he

was one of my patients; but little did I think he was such a dangerous person as you have represented him; he always appeared to me a good-natured, sociable, facetious gentleman; and, indeed, I took him for one of those old wits, who are naturally very costive, such as I have often met with in the course of my practice; for besides his being subject to a fistula and flux of the hemorrhoids, the sphincter of the anus was broke with the immoderate use of suppositories. An humourist he was indeed, it is true, and somewhat too tenacious of his own opinion; but, setting that aside, I don't know I have met with a man of late years, which seemed to be more entertaining and inoffensive conversation; especially, says I, in the back room at Button's.

I told them how you had seen King Harry, the last of that name, in hanging-sleeves; of your first appearance in the commonwealth of learning, about March last; and how at these years you had consecrated your studies to the service of the ladies; in short, Sir, I concealed nothing that would tend to your advantage, or take off the calumnies that I was conscious were the inhospitable endeavours of wicked men to blacken you; and I now must beg your leave to proceed regularly, and to knot the thread of my story where I broke it off in the beginning.

"Mr. Bickerstaff was scarce seated, when, turning himself abruptly to the company; Gentlemen, says he, this is a wonderful age we live in, and a great many most surprising things are daily to be met with in it, which escape the observation of us, that are learned, and yet are taken notice of by the illiterate people of low life. Mr. Sly, the attorney, is just arrived from London, and has put me in mind of two most remarkable things, which, though I have rid that way above a dozen times, I never reflected

on before. The one is, that, by exact calculation, he has found the road from London to Bath to be every whit as long as that from Bath to London. The other, that, let the weather be never so uncertain, the weather-cock, for the most part, points to that corner that the wind blows from.

"A third thing he likewise told me, and indeed the most material of all, but I made such haste to come and acquaint you with it, that I vow and profess I have quite forgot what it was; and yet, if my memory does not fail me, it was of the greatest consequence to this city of Bath, of any perhaps that has happened since the Revolution. But, alas! *memoria hominis* is but a leaky vessel; and it was the saying of a very wise statesman, that "it is but bad walking in slippery weather." However, it is no small comfort to be able to recollect what is not possible to be remembered. But it is not given to all folks, I find, to be as wise as some, for this substantial reason, that the longer we live, the older we grow. In short, gentlemen, *quod dixi, dixi;* I told you my author, *hisce oculis audivi.* You may ask him, he is of age, and an attorney, who would no more tell an untruth than any one of his profession.

"The world, I hope, will allow, that I am a learned man, and a wise man; and will always, I believe, lay that stress upon my sayings, as not to put any other body's whatsoever in competition with them, without the least detriment to characters or professions. Besides, *data sed non concesso*, that I have forgot it, the most you can make on it is, that such extraordinary wits as mine are generally attended with the want of memory; for which, however, that of solid judgment does always make ample atonement."

And now perhaps, Sir, when this letter comes to

be printed, it may be expected that I should make good my promise in the title-page, concerning the reception of your present, and what answer the company returned to this more than common rhetorician. Pardon me, O courteous reader, for already detaining thee so long; it is better for both you and me to be at rest, after we have travelled lovingly together for so many tedious pages. If I have time and opportunity, I may once more perhaps, to the satisfaction of us both, uncase my spectacles to peruse the records, which, according to the late canto, may afford us

Fit matter for another song.

I am not, I am sensible, the first modern who has fell short of his title-page; divers and sundry examples have I before my eyes, of poets, critics, commentators, philosophers, and politicians, who have played the same game in all places, and in all ages of the world. Several precedents, most learned sage, could I deduce out of your own works, and the lucubrations of Mr. Bickerstaff, of matters begun, but never ended, done and undone, to the surprise of all your readers; of acts of parliament, proved unalterable, by the same power that made them, in an advertisement, and dropt, because it was high treason to assert it upon the publication of The Crisis.

Thus far, O wise man, with much labour and diligence, have I brought this great work to the wished for conclusion, and by carefully comparing the coffee-house oration with the original, do find, that it is religiously exact. Come I therefore to appeal to your own learned self, whether the great Bickerstaff was not too partial in ascribing such pre-eminence to those speculations which he writ, filed, and

polished at his own leisure; whereas, the time which I employed in gathering materials for this valuable performance was stolen from the hours of my natural rest; after having, for the good of my country, spent all the live-long day, as the poets express themselves, *in triviis, et quadriviis*, delivering my salutiferous instructions to all comers and goers, and exposed to the rigour of the seasons, under the wide canopy of heaven. But as I have this comfort, that I underwent this great fatigue purely to rescue the city where I generally reside from the imputation of ingratitude, which otherwise it might be liable to; so I may, without vanity, say, that I have, *uno ictu*, purchased to myself by it the veneration of the learned world, my own private satisfaction, and the thanks of my fellow-citizens; whose hearty acknowledgments likewise, as well as my own, I return you, most ancient sage, for your desirable present. And, as I do not question but you will, for the public good, and your own credit, be at the charges of reprinting this authentic monument of your liberality, so I desire there may be copies enough to furnish every family in England with one. And because other nations may also reap the benefit of your labours, I have not only prevailed with my learned acquaintance, Mr. Griffith Evans ap Rice, professor of the Cambrian tongue at Oxford, to translate them into Welch, but have sent also copies of them into Ireland, to the renowned antiquary Cormack O Cuillinane, and to old Gillaspick Mackentosh, chief Chronographer of the Highland Clans of Scotland; from whom I have lately received some curious memoirs, with which I may perhaps, one of these days, oblige the commonwealth of learning. And I am well satisfied of the place which I have gained in your most wise esteem, by this my vast undertaking, so I beg leave to assure you, that I

shall be ready, upon all occasions, to let the world know of your great merit, and how much I am,

Learned, wise, and venerable Sir,

Your most humble,

And most devoted servant,

A. TRIPE, M.D.

Bath, Nov. 16, 1713.

POSTSCRIPT.

I HAD no sooner finished my letter, most venerable sage, but, reflecting on the happiness, which we that are learned do now enjoy, by living in the same age with you, I could not but be pleased to think, that when posterity shall peruse your learned productions, and inquire who were your contemporaries, what a handsome mention will be made of myself, upon the account of my correspondence with you. This, as it could not but be a most sensible satisfaction to me, so it naturally led me into the melancholy thought, of what an irreparable loss the public would sustain by the death of so valuable a person; and remembering, that I heard of your being lately afflicted with a continual dizziness in your head, and a sudden dimness in your sight, I immediately writ to my two worthy friends, Sir William R—d, and Cornelius a Tilb-rg, who, as they were formerly the ornament of the stage itinerant, so now they are an honour to the profession, and begged of them to send me a full account of the causes, nature, rise, and progress of your malady.

They acquitted themselves herein with a great deal of generosity and erudition; and from their learned observations, I immediately comprehended, that the chief origin of those chronical distempers proceeded from your immoderate feeding upon sallads; not only such as were picked and prepared by master-cooks, as Sidney and Locke, but likewise those that were hastily dished up by the unskilful, Tutchin and Ridpath, &c., which, creating too many crudities in the stomach, do continually transmit to the upper region a strange chaos of black, heavy, and indigested vapours, that do not only overpower the innate imbecility of the brain, but also obstruct the passages of the optic nerves, from whence those stubborn affections of your head and eyes do naturally follow.

Hereupon I zealously applied myself, night and day, to consult the most valuable nostrums of all our celebrated oracles, and with joy and satisfaction have excerpted from them a medicine of the greatest virtue, which, in the name of the worshipful Mr. Mayor, and the rest of his brethren, I have sent you by the carrier, in three gallipots, as a grateful return for your late present.

This, by the natural antipathy of the ingredients, will work powerfully upon the crudities, correct the peccant humours, and you will soon find the powerful effects of it. It is a sudorific, diuretic, carminative, and a soporific. It immediately puts all the humours in a ferment, separates the good from the bad, attracts to itself, by an occult sympathy, all the rebellious particles, dissolves them in a trice, and scowers all before it like a scavenger. Take the quantity of a nutmeg, *horis medicis.*

Outwardly, you must apply to the region of the heart, a plaster of the *rubrum henrici*, and wash your eyes twice a-day with the ophthalmic water I prescribed to you when at Bath.

But in case your distemper should prove so obstinate as not to yield to these most sovereign remedies, your last refuge must be a cataplasm of hemp, applied cravat-wise to your neck, which, though in its operation it be somewhat violent, yet it is an infallible one, if rightly used, according to that celebrated observation of one of our learned predecessors:

This, with a jirk, will do your work, and cure you o'er and o'er;
Read, judge, and try, and if you die, never believe me more.

Let your diet be regular, and drink good wines, and of the best growth. But, by all means, you must renounce Holland geneva, and Brunswick mum; for one corrupts your lungs, and the other stupifies your intellects.

If you observe exactly the method of these prescriptions, as I hope you will, I don't doubt, but that, in a little time, you will be generous enough to acknowledge, that our present is a match for your own; and that whatever advantage you may have over us in years and learning, you have none in the point of liberality.

Yours,

Ut Supra.

THE

CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES;

AND OF

THE LATE MINISTRY,

IN BEGINNING AND CARRYING ON THE

PRESENT WAR.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1712.

Partem tibi Gallia nostri
Eripuit: Partem duris Hispania bellis:
Pars jacet Hesperia, totoque exercitus orbe
Te vincente perit.

Odimus accipitrem quia semper vivit in armis.
Victrix Provincia plorat.

—o—

THE composition of this tract was one of the most effectual services which Swift rendered to Oxford's administration. The brilliancy of a long and unvaried current of success, and a tacit feeling of shame, had hitherto withheld the Tories from openly opposing the Duke of Marlborough, or gravely impeaching the conduct of a war, which, under his guidance, had added so many victories to the military annals of England. But the most successful general that ever lived was doomed finally to experience, that even a long train of victory will, like manna, pall upon the public taste. Envy, and malignant faction, whom the glare of successful services had long dazzled, at length claimed their victim.

The Tories were inimical to the cause for which Marlborough ought, and still more to the domestic influence of his duchess, on which his greatness had arisen. The nobles felt themselves overshadowed; the new ministry were conscious of a control which they durst not own. While the war lasted, it was impossible to dismiss Marlborough without the most awful responsibility; and the only alternative which remained was to render the war unpopular. With this view, Swift's Conduct of the Allies was published, and produced the deepest sensation upon the public mind. It was immediately regarded as an annunciation of the minister's disposition to make a separate peace, which some papers in the Examiner had already hinted at.* The merits and defects of this pamphlet, we have endeavoured to discuss in our account of the life of the author. It continued to be a sort of Shibboleth of party, so late as the days of Dr. Johnson, who declares that it tore the veil from the eyes of the people, "who having been amused with bonfires and triumphal processions, looked with idolatry on the general and his friends," and were confounded between rage and shame, when they found that "mines had been exhausted and millions destroyed," to secure the Dutch, or aggrandize the emperor, without any advantage to ourselves; that "we had been bribing our neighbours to fight their own quarrel, and that among our enemies we might number our allies." But the Whigs viewed the influence of the pamphlet as equally dishonourable and baleful to the nation. They exclaimed, that the designs of Harley's ministry were now manifest; that a separate peace was their object, which, while it detached Britain from her continental allies, lost the fruits of a long war, and threw her into the arms of France, was, in fact, to prepare the road for the restoration of the exiled family of Stuart. It was strongly insisted, that nothing but foreign assistance could secure the Protestant succession. But the reason assigned, though plausible in itself, was not at all palatable to the nation. Again it was said, that France's disclamation of supporting the Pretender could not be depended upon; and that, if she chose to enforce his claim, England was unequal, single-handed, to cope with France. This is an argument which the experience of modern times has fully confuted, and although long urged to keep Britain in a miserable dependence upon petty continental alliances, was

* "The faction have at last discovered themselves, and give broad hints that they are for a separate peace. They begin to sift us in that point, and see how it will go down. Though the present Examiner has no one qualification of his predecessor, but lying and impudence; yet they make use of him as a tool, to prepare the way for some more able pen, to offer what no one else would dare to mention."—*The Dutch Barrier our's.* Lond. 1712, p. 37.

never in unison with the feelings of the British people. Yet it may be well doubted, whether the Tories, in their precipitate resolution to make peace, did not forfeit the advantages they had derived from the victories obtained during the war.

The progress of this pamphlet can be plainly traced in the Journal to Stella:

30th October, 1711, Swift declares himself busy about something to open the eyes of the nation, who are half bewitched against a peace; and is in great hopes to prove, that Britain is the most undone nation in Europe. And from that time, down to the 24th of November, are several allusions to the same task. On that day he writes that the pamphlet is finished, and on the 27th he announces that it is finally published.

30th November, Stella is informed, that the pamphlet makes a world of noise, and communicates many most important facts, not before known. On the same day the second edition was published, a third upon the 2d, and a fourth upon the 6th of December following.

The tract was not long unanswered. The most forward in the contest was Dr. Hare, the Duke of Marlborough's chaplain, who published "The Allies and the late Ministry defended against France, and the present Friends of France," in four parts. But, there are many other answers to the Conduct of the Allies, and it is mentioned in all the Whig tracts of the day, with an appearance of irritation suitable to the injury it had done their cause.

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PREFACE.

I CANNOT sufficiently admire the industry of a sort of men wholly out of favour with the prince and people, and openly professing a separate interest from the bulk of the landed men, who yet are able to raise at this juncture so great a clamour against a peace, without offering one single reason, but what we find in their ballads. I lay it down for a maxim, that no reasonable man, whether Whig or Tory, (since it is necessary to use those foolish terms,) can be of opinion for continuing the

war upon the footing it now is, unless he be a gainer by it, or hopes it may occasion some new turn of affairs at home, to the advantage of his party; or, lastly, unless he be very ignorant of the kingdom's condition, and by what means we have been reduced to it. Upon the two first cases, where interest is concerned, I have nothing to say: but, as to the last, I think it highly necessary that the public should be freely and impartially told what circumstances they are in, after what manner they have been treated by those whom they trusted so many years with the disposal of their blood and treasure, and what the consequences of this management are likely to be, upon themselves and their posterity.

Those who, either by writing or discourse, have undertaken to defend the proceedings of the late ministry in the management of the war, and of the treaty at Gertruydenberg, have spent time in celebrating the conduct and valour of our leaders and their troops, in summing up the victories they have gained, and the towns they have taken. Then they tell us, what high articles were insisted on by our ministers, and those of the confederates, and what pains both were at in persuading France to accept them. But nothing of this can give the least satisfaction to the just complaints of the kingdom. As to the war, our grievances are, that a greater load has been laid on us than was either just or necessary, or than we have been able to bear; that the grossest impositions have been submitted to, for the advancement of private wealth and power, or in order to forward the more dangerous designs of a faction, to both which a peace would have put an end; and that the part of the war which was chiefly our province, which would have been most beneficial to us, and destructive to the enemy, was

wholly neglected. As to a peace, we complain of being deluded by a mock treaty; in which, those who negotiated took care to make such demands, as they knew were impossible to be complied with; and therefore might securely press every article as if they were in earnest.

These are some of the points I design to treat of in the following discourse; with several others, which I thought it necessary at this time for the kingdom to be informed of. I think I am not mistaken in those facts I mention; at least, not in any circumstance so material as to weaken the consequences I draw from them.

After ten years' war with perpetual success, to tell us it is yet impossible to have a good peace, is very surprising, and seems so different from what has ever happened in the world before, that a man of any party may be allowed suspecting, that we have been either ill used, or have not made the most of our victories, and might therefore desire to know where the difficulty lay. Then it is natural to inquire into our present condition; how long we shall be able to go on at this rate; what the consequences may be upon the present and future ages; and whether a peace, without that impracticable point which some people do so much insist on, be really ruinous in itself, or equally so, with the continuance of the war.

THE CONDUCT, &c.

THE motives that may engage a wise prince or state in a war, I take to be one or more of these: either to check the overgrown power of some ambitious neighbour; to recover what has been unjustly taken from them; to revenge some injury they have received, which all political casuists allow; to assist some ally in a just quarrel; or, lastly, to defend themselves when they are invaded. In all these cases, the writers upon politics admit a war to be justly undertaken. The last is, what has been usually called *pro aris et focis;* where no expence or endeavour can be too great, because all we have is at stake, and consequently our utmost force to be exerted; and the dispute is soon determined, either in safety, or utter destruction. But in the other four, I believe, it will be found that no monarch or commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain degree; never proceeding so far as to exhaust the strength and substance of their country by anticipations and loans, which, in a few years, must put them in a worse condition than any they could reasonably apprehend from those evils, for the preventing of which they first entered into the war;

because this would be to run into real infallible ruin, only in hopes to remove what might, perhaps, but appear so, by a probable speculation.

And as a war should be undertaken upon a just and prudent motive, so it is still more obvious, that a prince ought naturally to consider the condition he is in, when he enters on it; whether his coffers be full, his revenues clear of debts, his people numerous and rich, by a long peace and free trade, not overpressed with many burdensome taxes; no violent faction ready to dispute his just prerogative, and thereby weaken his authority at home, and lessen his reputation abroad. For, if the contrary of all this happen to be his case, he will hardly be persuaded to disturb the world's quiet and his own, while there is any other way left of preserving the latter with honour and safety.

Supposing the war to have commenced upon a just motive; the next thing to be considered is, when a prince ought in prudence to receive the overtures of a peace; which I take to be, either when the enemy is ready to yield the point originally contended for, or when that point is found impossible to be ever obtained; or, when contending any longer, although with probability of gaining that point at last, would put such a prince and his people in a worse condition than the present loss of it. All which considerations are of much greater force where a war is managed by an alliance of many confederates, which, in a variety of interests among the several parties, is liable to so many unforeseen accidents.

In a confederate war, it ought to be considered which party has the deepest share in the quarrel: for, although each may have their particular reasons, yet one or two among them will probably be more concerned than the rest, and therefore ought to bear

the greatest part of the burden, in proportion to their strength. For example: two princes may be competitors for a kingdom; and it will be your interest to take the part of him, who will probably allow you good conditions of trade, rather than of the other, who may possibly not. However, that prince, whose cause you espouse, although never so vigorously, is the principal in that war, and you, properly speaking, are but a second. Or a commonwealth may lie in danger to be overrun by a powerful neighbour, which, in time, may produce very bad consequences upon your trade and liberty: it is therefore necessary, as well as prudent, to lend them assistances, and help them to win a strong secure frontier; but, as they must, in course, be the first and greatest sufferers, so, in justice, they ought to bear the greatest weight. If a house be on fire, it behoves all in the neighbourhood to run with buckets to quench it; but the owner is sure to be undone first: and it is not impossible, that those at next door may escape by a shower from Heaven, or the stillness of the weather, or some other favourable accident.

But, if any ally, who is not so immediately concerned in the good or ill fortune of the war, be so generous as to contribute more than the principal party, and even more in proportion to his abilities, he ought at least to have his share in what is conquered from the enemy; or, if his romantic disposition transport him so far, as to expect little or nothing from this, he might however hope, that the principals would make it up in dignity and respect; and he would surely think it monstrous to find them intermeddling in his domestic affairs, prescribing what servants he should keep or dismiss, pressing him perpetually with the most unreasonable demands, and at every turn threatening to break the alliance, if he will not comply.

From these reflections upon war in general, I descend to consider those wars wherein England has been engaged since the Conquest. In the civil wars of the barons, as well as those between the houses of York and Lancaster, great destruction was made of the nobility and gentry; new families raised, and old ones extinguished; but the money spent on both sides was employed and circulated at home; no public debts contracted; and a very few years of peace quickly set all right again.

The like may be affirmed even of that unnatural rebellion against King Charles I. The usurpers maintained great armies in constant pay, had almost continual war with Spain or Holland; but, managing it by their fleets, they increased very much the riches of the kingdom, instead of exhausting them.

Our foreign wars were generally against Scotland or France; the first, being in this island, carried no money out of the kingdom, and were seldom of long continuance. During our first wars with France, we possessed great dominions in that country, where we preserved some footing till the reign of Queen Mary; and although some of our later princes made very chargeable expeditions thither, a subsidy, and two or three fifteenths, cleared all the debt. Besides, our victories were then of some use, as well as glory; for we were so prudent as to fight, and so happy as to conquer, only for ourselves.

The Dutch wars in the reign of King Charles II., although begun and carried on under a very corrupt administration, and much to the dishonour of the crown, did indeed keep the king needy and poor, by discontinuing or discontenting his parliament, when he most needed their assistance; but neither left any debt upon the nation, nor carried any money out of it.

At the Revolution, a general war broke out in Europe, wherein many princes joined in alliance against France, to check the ambitious designs of that monarch; and here the emperor, the Dutch, and England, were principals. About this time, the custom first began among us of borrowing millions upon funds of interest. It was pretended, that the war could not possibly last above one or two campaigns; and that the debts contracted might be easily paid in a few years by a gentle tax, without burdening the subject. But the true reason for embracing this expedient was the security of a new prince, not firmly settled on the throne. People were tempted to lend, by great premiums and large interest; and it concerned them nearly to preserve that government, which they had trusted with their money. The person * said to have been author of so detestable a project, lived to see some of its fatal consequences, whereof his grandchildren will not see an end. And this pernicious counsel closed very well with the posture of affairs at that time: for a set of upstarts, who had little or no part in the Revolution, but valued themselves upon their noise and pretended zeal when the work was over, were got into credit at court, by the merit of becoming undertakers and projectors of loans and funds; these, finding that the gentlemen of estates were not willing to come into their measures, fell upon those new schemes of raising money, in order to create a monied interest, that might in time vie with the landed, and of which they hoped to be at the head. †

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* Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Sarum.

† The apology alleged by the answerers of the tract, was the stubborn opposition of the Tories to an excise, or any other scheme for raising taxes within the year.

The ground of the first war for ten years after the Revolution, as to the part we had in it, was to make France acknowledge the late king, and to recover Hudson's Bay. But, during that whole war, the sea was almost entirely neglected, and the greatest part of six millions annually employed to enlarge the frontier of the Dutch; for the king was a general, but not an admiral; and although King of England, was a native of Holland.

After ten years' fighting to little purpose, after the loss of above a hundred thousand men, and a debt remaining of twenty millions, we at length hearkened to the terms of peace, which was concluded with great advantages to the empire and Holland, but none at all to us, and clogged soon after with the famous treaty of partition,* by which Naples, Sicily, and Lorrain, were to be added to the French dominions; or, if that crown should think fit to set aside the treaty, upon the Spaniards refusing to accept it, as they declared they would to the several parties at the very time of the transacting it, then the French would have pretensions to the whole monarchy. And so it proved in the event; for the late King of Spain, reckoning it an indignity to have his territories cantoned out into parcels by other princes, during his own life, and without his consent, rather chose to bequeath the monarchy entire to a younger son of France; and this prince was acknowledged for King of Spain, both by us and Holland.

It must be granted, that the counsels of entering

* The Partition Treaty, executed by France, Holland, and England, in 1698, provided solemnly for the division of the Spanish dominions, in the event of Charles II., then King of Spain, dying without issue. It was a bait thrown out by the French monarch to the ambition of our William III., who fell into the snare.

into this war were violently opposed by the church-party, who first advised the late king to acknowledge the Duke of Anjou; and particularly it is affirmed, that a certain great person,* who was then in the church interest, told the king, in November 1701, that since his majesty was determined to engage in a war so contrary to his private opinion, he could serve him no longer, and accordingly gave up his employment; although he happened afterwards to change his mind, when he was to be at the head of the Treasury, and have the sole management of affairs at home, while those abroad were to be in the hands of one, whose advantage, by all sorts of ties, he was engaged to promote.

The declarations of war against France and Spain, made by us and Holland, are dated within a few days of each other. In that published by the States, they say very truly, that they are nearest, and most exposed to the fire; that they are blocked up on all sides, and actually attacked by the Kings of France and Spain; that their declaration is the effect of an urging and pressing necessity; with other expressions to the same purpose. They desire the assistance of all kings and princes, &c. The grounds of their quarrel with France are such as only affect themselves, or at least more immediately than any other prince or state; such as the French refusing to grant the Tariff, promised by the treaty of Ryswick; the loading of the Dutch inhabitants settled in France, with excessive duties,

* "The Lord Godolphin declined accepting the office of Lord High Treasurer, until he was over-ruled by the persuasions of Marlborough, to whose eldest daughter his son was married. This nobleman refused to command the forces abroad, unless the Treasury should be put into the hands of Godolphin, on whose punctuality in point of remittances he knew he could depend."—Smollet, *ad ann.* 1702.

contrary to the said treaty; the violation of the Partition Treaty by the French accepting the King of Spain's will, and threatening the States if they would not comply; the seizing of the Spanish Netherlands by the French troops, and turning out the Dutch, who, by permission of the late King of Spain, were in garrison there; by which means that republic was deprived of her barrier, contrary to the treaty of partition, where it was particularly stipulated, that the Spanish Netherlands should be left to the archduke. They alleged, that the French king governed Flanders as his own, although under the name of his grandson, and sent great numbers of troops thither to fright them; that he had seized the city and citadel of Liege; had possessed himself of several places in the archbishopric of Cologne, and maintained troops in the country of Wolfenbuttle, in order to block up the Dutch on all sides; and caused his resident to give in a memorial, wherein he threatened the States to act against them, if they refused complying with the contents of that memorial.

The queen's declaration of war is grounded upon the grand alliance, as this was upon the unjust usurpations and encroachments of the French king; whereof the instances produced are, his keeping in possession a great part of the Spanish dominions, seizing Milan and the Spanish Low Countries, making himself master of Cadiz, &c. And instead of giving satisfaction in these points, his putting an indignity and affront on her majesty and kingdoms, by declaring the pretended Prince of Wales, King of England, &c. Which last was the only personal quarrel we had in the war; and even this was positively denied by France, that king being willing to acknowledge her majesty.

I think it plainly appears by both declarations,

that England ought no more to have been a principal in this war than Prussia, or any other power, who came afterward into that alliance. Holland was first in danger, the French troops being, at that time, just at the gates of Nimeguen. But the complaints made in our declaration do all, except the last, as much, or more concern almost every prince in Europe.

For, among the several parties, who came first or last into this confederacy, there were few but who, in proportion, had more to get or to lose, to hope or to fear, from the good or ill success of this war, than we. The Dutch took up arms to defend themselves from immediate ruin; and, by a successful war, they proposed to have a large extent of country, and a better frontier against France. The emperor hoped to recover the monarchy of Spain, or some part of it, for his younger son, chiefly at the expence of us and Holland. The King of Portugal had received intelligence, that Philip designed to renew the old pretensions of Spain upon that kingdom, which is surrounded by the other on all sides, except toward the sea; and could therefore only be defended by maritime powers. This, with the advantageous terms offered by King Charles, as well as by us, prevailed with that prince to enter into the alliance. The Duke of Savoy's temptations and fears were yet greater: the main charge of the war on that side was to be supplied by England, and the profit to redound to him. In case Milan should be conquered, it was stipulated, that his highness should have the Duchy of Montserrat, belonging to the Duke of Mantua, the provinces of Alexandria and Valencia, and Lomellino, with other lands between the Po and Tanaro, together with the Vigevenasco, or in lieu of it an equivalent out of the province of Novara, adjoining

to his own state; beside whatever could be taken from France, on that side, by the confederate forces. Then he was in terrible apprehensions of being surrounded by France, who had so many troops in the Milanese, and might have easily swallowed up his whole duchy.

The rest of the allies came in purely for subsidies, whereof they sunk considerable sums into their own coffers, and refused to send their contingent to the emperor, alleging their troops were already hired by England and Holland.

Some time after, the Duke of Anjou succeeded to the monarchy of Spain, in breach of the partition treaty, the question here in England was, whether the peace should be continued, or a new war begun? Those who were for the former, alleged the debts and difficulties we laboured under: that both we and the Dutch had already acknowledged Philip for King of Spain: that the inclinations of the Spaniards to the house of Austria, and their aversion for that of Bourbon, were not so surely to be reckoned upon as some would pretend: that we thought it a piece of insolence, as well as injustice in the French, to offer putting a king upon us, and the Spaniards would conceive we had as little reason to force one upon them: that it was true, the nature and genius of those two people differed very much, and so would probably continue to do, as well under a king of French blood, as one of Austrian: but that if we would engage in a war for dethroning the Duke of Anjou, we should certainly effect what, by the progress and operations of it, we endeavoured to prevent, I mean a union of interest and affections between the two nations: for the Spaniards must, of necessity, call in French troops to their assistance: this would introduce French counsellors into King Philip's court, and this, by degrees,

would habituate and reconcile the two nations: that to assist King Charles by English and Dutch forces, would render him odious to his new subjects, who have nothing in so great abomination as those whom they hold for heretics: that the French would by this means become masters of the treasures in the Spanish West Indies; that in the last war, when Spain, Cologne, and Bavaria, were in our alliance, and by a modest computation, brought sixty thousand men into the field, against the common enemy; when Flanders, the seat of war, was on our side, and his majesty, a prince of great valour and conduct, at the head of the whole confederate army; yet we had no reason to boast of our success: how then should we be able to oppose France with those powers against us, which would carry sixty thousand men from us to the enemy, and so make us upon the balance weaker by one hundred and twenty thousand men, at the beginning of this war, than of that in 1688?

On the other side, those whose opinion, or some private motives, inclined them to give their advice for entering into a new war, alleged, how dangerous it would be for England, that Philip should be King of Spain: that we could have no security for our trade, while that kingdom was subject to a prince of the Bourbon family, nor any hopes of preserving the balance of Europe, because the grandfather would in effect be king, while his grandson had but the title, and thereby have a better opportunity than ever of pursuing his design for universal monarchy. These and the like arguments prevailed; and so, without taking time to consider the consequences, or to reflect on our own condition, we hastily engaged in a war, which has cost us sixty millions; and after repeated, as well as unexpected success in arms, has put us and our posterity in a worse

condition, not only than any of our allies, but even our conquered enemies themselves.

The part we have acted in the conduct of this whole war, with reference to our allies abroad, and to a prevailing faction at home, is what I shall now particularly examine; where, I presume, it will appear by plain matters of fact, that no nation was ever so long or so scandalously abused, by the folly, the temerity, the corruption, and the ambition of its domestic enemies; or treated with so much insolence, injustice, and ingratitude, by its foreign friends.

This will be manifest by proving the three following points:

First, That, against all manner of prudence or common reason, we engaged in this war as principals, when we ought to have acted only as auxiliaries.

Secondly, That we spent all our vigour in pursuing that part of the war, which could least answer the end we proposed by beginning it; and made no efforts at all where we could have most weakened the common enemy, and at the same time enriched ourselves.

Lastly, That we suffered each of our allies to break every article in those treaties and agreements by which they were bound, and to lay the burden upon us.

Upon the first of these points, that we ought to have entered into this war only as auxiliaries, let any man reflect upon our condition at that time: just come out of the most tedious, expensive, and unsuccessful war, that ever England had been engaged in; sinking under heavy debts of a nature and degree never heard of by us or our ancestors; the bulk of the gentry and people, heartily tired of the war, and glad of a peace, although it brought

no other advantage but itself; no sudden prospect of lessening our taxes, which were grown as necessary to pay our debts, as to raise armies; a sort of artificial wealth of funds and stocks, in the hands of those, who, for ten years before, had been plundering the public; many corruptions in every branch of our government that needed reformation. Under these difficulties, from which, twenty years' peace and the wisest management could hardly recover us, we declare war against France, fortified by the accession and alliance of those powers I mentioned before, and which, in the former war, had been parties in our confederacy. It is very obvious, what a change must be made in the balance, by such weights taken out of our scale, and put into theirs; since it was manifest, by ten years' experience, that France, without those additions of strength, was able to maintain itself against us. So that human probability ran with mighty odds on the other side; and in this case, nothing, under the most extreme necessity, should force any state to engage in a war. We had already acknowledged Philip for King of Spain; neither does the queen's declaration of war take notice of the Duke of Anjou's succession to that monarchy, as a subject of quarrel, but the French king's governing it as if it were his own; his seizing Cadiz, Milan, and the Spanish Low Countries, with the indignity of proclaiming the Pretender. In all which, we charge that prince with nothing directly relating to us, excepting the last; and this, although indeed a great affront, might easily have been redressed without a war; for the French court declared they did not acknowledge the Pretender, but only gave him the title of king, which was allowed to Augustus by his enemy of Sweden, who had driven him out of Poland, and forced him to acknowledge Stanislaus.

It is true, indeed, the danger of the Dutch, by so ill a neighbourhood in Flanders, might affect us very much in the consequences of it; and the loss of Spain to the house of Austria, if it should be governed by French influence, and French politics, might, in time, be very pernicious to our trade. It would therefore have been prudent, as well as generous and charitable, to help our neighbour; and so we might have done without injuring ourselves; for by an old treaty with Holland, we were bound to assist that republic with ten thousand men, whenever they were attacked by the French; whose troops, upon the King of Spain's death, taking possession of Flanders in right of Philip, and securing the Dutch garrisons till they would acknowledge him, the States-General, by memorials from their envoy here, demanded only the ten thousand men we were obliged to give them by virtue of that treaty. And I make no doubt, but the Dutch would have exerted themselves so vigorously, as to be able, with that assistance alone, to defend their frontiers; or, if they had been forced to a peace, the Spaniards, who abhor dismembering their monarchy, would never have suffered the French to possess themselves of Flanders. At that time they had none of those endearments to each other, which this war has created; and whatever hatred and jealousy were natural between the two nations, would then have appeared. So that there was no sort of necessity for us to proceed farther, although we had been in a better condition. But our politicians at that time had other views; and a new war must be undertaken, upon the advice of those, who, with their partizans and adherents, were to be sole gainers by it. A grand alliance was therefore made between the Emperor, England, and the States-General; by which, if the injuries com-

plained of from France were not remedied in two months, the parties concerned were obliged mutually to assist each other with their whole strength.

Thus we became principal in a war in conjunction with two allies, whose share in the quarrel was beyond all proportion greater than ours. However, I can see no reason, from the words of the grand alliance, by which we were obliged to make those prodigious expences we have since been at. By what I have always heard and read, I take the whole strength of the nation, as understood in that treaty, to be the utmost that a prince can raise annually from his subjects. If he be forced to mortgage and borrow, whether at home or abroad, it is not, properly speaking, his own strength, or that of the nation, but the entire substance of particular persons, which, not being able to raise out of the annual income of his kingdom, he takes upon security, and can only pay the interest. And by this method, one part of the nation is pawned to the other, with hardly a possibility left of being ever redeemed.

Surely it would have been enough for us to have suspended the payment of our debts contracted in the former war, and to have continued our land and malt tax, with those others which have since been mortgaged: these, with some additions, would have made up such a sum, as, with prudent management, might, I suppose, have maintained a hundred thousand men by sea and land; a reasonable quota, in all conscience, for that ally, who apprehended least danger, and expected least advantage. Nor can we imagine that either of the confederates, when the war began, would have been so unreasonable as to refuse joining with us upon such a foot, and expect that we should every year go between three and four millions in debt, (which hath been our case,) because the French could hardly have contrived any

offers of a peace so ruinous to us as such a war. Posterity will be at a loss to conceive what kind of spirit could possess their ancestors, who, after ten years' suffering, by the unexampled politics of a nation maintaining a war by annually pawning itself; and during a short peace, while they were looking back with horror on the heavy load of debts they had contracted, universally condemning those pernicious counsels which had occasioned them; racking their invention for some remedies or expedients to mend their shattered condition; I say, that these very people, without giving themselves time to breathe, should again enter into a more dangerous, chargeable, and extensive war, for the same, or perhaps a greater period of time, and without any apparent necessity. It is obvious, in a private fortune, that whoever annually runs out, and continues the same expences, must every year mortgage a greater quantity of land than he did before; and as the debt doubles and trebles upon him, so does his inability to pay it. By the same proportion, we have suffered twice as much by this last ten years' war as we did by the former; and if it were possible to continue it five years longer at the same rate, it would be as great a burden as the whole twenty. This computation being so easy and trivial, as it is almost a shame to mention it, posterity will think that those who first advised the war wanted either the sense or the honesty to consider it.

As we have wasted our strength and vital substance in this profuse manner, so we have shamefully misapplied it to ends at least very different from those for which we undertook the war, and often to affect others, which, after a peace, we may severely repent. This is the second article I proposed to examine.

We have now for ten years together turned the

whole force and expence of the war where the enemy was best able to hold us at a bay; where we could propose no manner of advantage to ourselves; where it was highly impolitic to enlarge our conquests; utterly neglecting that part which would have saved and gained us many millions; which the perpetual maxims of our government teach us to pursue; which would have soonest weakened the enemy, and must either have promoted a speedy peace, or enabled us to continue the war.

Those who are fond of continuing the war, cry up our constant success at a most prodigious rate, and reckon it infinitely greater than in all human probability we had reason to hope. Ten glorious campaigns are passed; and now at last, like the sick man, we are just expiring with all sorts of good symptoms. Did the advisers of this war suppose it would continue ten years, without expecting the successes we have had; and yet, at the same time, determine that France must be reduced, and Spain subdued, by employing our whole strength upon Flanders? Did they believe the last war left us in a condition to furnish such vast supplies for so long a period, without involving us and our posterity in unextricable debts? If, after such miraculous doings, we are not yet in a condition of bringing France to our terms, nor can tell when we shall be so, although we should proceed without any reverse of fortune; what could we look for, in the ordinary course of things, but a Flanders war of at least twenty years longer? Do they indeed think, a town taken for the Dutch is a sufficient recompense to us for six millions of money; which is of so little consequence to determine the war, that the French may yet hold out a dozen years more, and afford a new town every campaign at the same price?

I say not this by any means to detract from the

army, or its leaders. Getting into the enemy's lines, passing rivers, and taking towns, may be actions attended with many glorious circumstances; but when all this brings no real solid advantage to us; when it has no other end than to enlarge the territories of the Dutch, and to increase the fame and wealth of our general; I conclude, however it comes about, that things are not as they should be; and that surely our forces and money might be better employed, both toward reducing our enemy, and working out some benefit to ourselves. But the case is still much harder; we are destroying many thousand lives, exhausting our substance, not for our own interest, which would be but common prudence; not for a thing indifferent, which would be sufficient folly; but perhaps to our own destruction, which is perfect madness. We may live to feel the effects of our own valour more sensibly, than all the consequences we imagine from the dominions of Spain in the Duke of Anjou. We have conquered a noble territory for the States, that will maintain sufficient troops to defend itself, and feed many hundred thousand inhabitants; where all encouragement will be given to introduce and improve manufactures, which was the only advantage they wanted; and which, added to their skill, industry, and parsimony, will enable them to undersell us in every market of the world.

Our supply of forty thousand men, according to the first stipulation, added to the quotas of the emperor and Holland, which they were obliged to furnish, would have made an army of near two hundred thousand, exclusive of garrisons: enough to withstand all the power that France could bring against it; and we might have employed the rest much better, both for the common cause, and our own advantage.

The war in Spain must be imputed to the

credulity of our ministers, who suffered themselves to be persuaded by the imperial court, that the Spaniards were so violently affected to the house of Austria, as, upon the first appearance there with a few troops under the archduke, the whole kingdom would immediately revolt. This we tried; and found the emperor to have deceived either us or himself. Yet there we drove on the war at a prodigious disadvantage, with great expence; and by a most corrupt management, the only general, who, by a course of conduct and fortune almost miraculous, had nearly put us into possession of the kingdom, was left wholly unsupported, exposed to the envy of his rivals, disappointed by the caprices of a young unexperienced prince, under the guidance of a rapacious German ministry, and at last called home in discontent. By which our armies, both in Spain and Portugal, were made a sacrifice to avarice, ill conduct, or treachery.*

* These remarks apply to the conduct of the war in Spain under the Earl of Peterborough; and as if to show that injustice and ingratitude were not confined to one party, Dr. Hare retorts upon the head of that great general the abuse which Swift had levelled against his patron Marlborough. In the following passage, he plainly accuses Peterborough (after being deprived of the command of the army) of sacrificing his successor Lord Galway. "To the great number of lies contained in these few words, I answer, that my Lord P. was not left unsupported, as appears by his own letters, in which he owns, that he had nothing to tax the late ministry with, for they had well supported him both with men and money: But I can tell him who was left unsupported, in the neighbourhood of Madrid, for six weeks together, and at last was joined with but two Spanish regiments of dragoons, and part of an English one; when the remainder of that, two other entire ones, and thirteen battalions of English foot, were left behind. This was the general who had reason to complain, that he was left unsupported, and exposed to the envy of his rivals: for had that expedition been crowned with success, the glory had been chiefly his; and for that reason, I presume, it did not succeed. As to the King of Spain, I should think this author, as great an

In common prudence, we should either have pushed that war with the utmost vigour, in so fortunate a juncture, especially since the gaining of that kingdom was the great point for which we pretended to continue the war; or at least, when we had found, or made, that design impracticable, we should not have gone on in so expensive a management of it; but have kept our troops on the defensive in Catalonia, and pursued some other way more effectual for distressing the common enemy, and advantaging ourselves.

And what a noble field of honour and profit had we before us, wherein to employ the best of our strength, which, against the maxims of British policy, we suffered to lie wholly neglected! I have sometimes wondered how it came to pass, that the style of maritime powers, by which our allies, in a sort of contemptuous manner, usually couple us with the Dutch, did never put us in mind of the sea; and while some politicians were showing us the way to Spain by Flanders, others to Savoy or Naples, that the West Indies should never come into their heads. With half the charge we have been at, we might have maintained our original quota of forty thousand men in Flanders, and at the same time, by our fleets and naval forces, have so distressed the Spaniards, in the north and south

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enemy as he is to decency and good manners, should of all words not have applied caprices to that prince, who was never by anybody else accused of giddiness, irresolution, and some other qualities which that word denotes; which properly belong to a certain general that this king had once the misfortune to be troubled with; the hero of this author and his faction, whom they have sometimes had the impudence to compare to the D. of M. himself. As to the last part of this memorable sentence, it must fall, if anywhere, on my Lord G—y, who succeeded to the command upon the other's being recalled."—*The Allies and the late Ministry defended*, B. IV. p. 18.

seas of America, as to prevent any returns of money from thence, except in our own bottoms. This is what best became us to do as a maritime power; this, with any common degree of success, would soon have compelled France to the necessities of a peace, and Spain to acknowledge the archduke. But while we, for ten years, have been squandering away our money upon the continent, France has been wisely engrossing all the trade of Peru, going directly with their ships to Lima and other ports, and there receiving ingots of gold and silver for French goods of little value; which, beside the mighty advantage to their nation at present, may divert the channel of that trade for the future, so beneficial to us, who used to receive annually such vast sums at Cadiz, for our goods sent thence to the Spanish West Indies. All this we tamely saw and suffered, without the least attempt to hinder it: except what was performed by some private men at Bristol, who, inflamed by a true spirit of courage and industry, did, about three years ago, with a few vessels fitted out at their own charge, make a most successful voyage into those parts; took one of the Acapulco ships, very narrowly missed of the other, and are lately returned laden with unenvied wealth, to show us what might have been done with the like management, by a public undertaking. At least we might easily have prevented those great returns of money to France and Spain, although we could not have taken it ourselves. And if it be true, as the advocates for war would have it, that the French are now so impoverished, in what condition must they have been if that issue of wealth had been stopped?

But great events often turn upon very small circumstances. It was the kingdom's misfortune, that the sea was not the Duke of Marlborough's

element; otherwise the whole force of the war would infallibly have been bestowed there, infinitely to the advantage of his country, which would then have gone hand in hand with his own. But it is very truly objected, that if we alone had made such an attempt as this, Holland would have been jealous; or if we had done it in conjunction with Holland, the house of Austria would have been discontented. This has been the style of late years; which, whoever introduced among us, they have taught our allies to speak after them. Otherwise it could hardly enter into any imagination, that while we are confederates in a war with those who are to have the whole profit, and who leave a double share of the burden upon us, we dare not think of any design (although against the common enemy) where there is the least prospect of doing good to our own country, for fear of giving umbrage and offence to our allies, while we are ruining ourselves to conquer provinces and kingdoms for them. I therefore confess with shame, that this objection is true: for it is very well known, that while the design of Mr. Hill's expedition remained a secret, it was suspected in Holland and Germany to be intended against Peru; whereupon the Dutch made everywhere their public complaints; and the ministers at Vienna talked of it as an insolence in the queen to attempt such an undertaking; the failure of which (partly by the accidents of a storm, and partly by the stubbornness or treachery of some in that colony, for whose relief and at whose entreaty it was in some measure designed) is no objection at all to an enterprise so well concerted, and with such fair probability of success.*

* Mr. Hill's expedition was designed against Canada, but was totally unsuccessful, to the no small exultation of the Whigs, as it was the only military project attempted by their rivals.

It was something singular, that the States should express their uneasiness, when they thought we intended to make some attempt in the Spanish West Indies; because it is agreed between us, whatever is conquered there, by us, or them, shall belong to the conqueror; which is the only article that I can call to mind in all our treaties or stipulations, with any view of interest to this kingdom; and for that very reason I suppose, among others, has been altogether neglected. Let those who think this a severe reflection examine the whole management of the present war by sea and land, with all our alliances, treaties, stipulations, and conventions, and consider whether the whole does not look as if some particular care and industry had been used, to prevent any benefit or advantage that might possibly accrue to Britain?

This kind of treatment from our principal allies has taught the same dialect to all the rest; so that there is hardly a petty prince, whom we half maintain by subsidies and pensions, who is not ready upon every occasion to threaten us, that he will recal his troops (although they must rob or starve at home) if we refuse to comply with him in any demand, however unreasonable.

Upon the third head, I shall produce some instances to show, how tamely we have suffered each of our allies to infringe every article in those treaties and stipulations, by which they were bound, and to lay the load upon us.

But before I enter upon this, which is a large subject, I shall take leave to offer a few remarks on certain articles in three of our treaties, which may let us perceive how much those ministers valued or understood the true interest, safety, or honour of their country.

We have made two alliances with Portugal, an

offensive and a defensive: the first is to remain in force only during the present war; the second to be perpetual. In the offensive alliance, the emperor, England, and Holland, are parties with Portugal; in the defensive, only we and the States.

Upon the first article of the offensive alliance, it is to be observed, that although the grand alliance, as I have already said, allows England and Holland to possess for their own, whatever each of them shall conquer in the Spanish West Indies; yet, there we are quite cut out, by consenting that the archduke shall possess the dominions of Spain, in as full a manner as their late King Charles. And what is more remarkable, we broke this very article in favour of Portugal, by subsequent stipulations; where we agree that King Charles shall deliver up Estremadura, Vigo, and some other places to the Portuguese, as soon as we can conquer them from the enemy. They, who are guilty of so much folly and contradiction; know best, whether it proceeded from corruption or stupidity.

By two other articles (beside the honour of being convoys and guards in ordinary to the Portuguese ships and coasts) we are to guess the enemy's thoughts, and to take the King of Portugal's word, whenever he has a fancy that he shall be invaded. We are also to furnish him with a strength superior to what the enemy intends to invade any of his dominions with, let that be what it will. And until we know what the enemy's forces are, his Portuguese majesty is sole judge what strength is superior, and what will be able to prevent an invasion; and may send our fleets, whenever he pleases, upon his errands to some of the farthest parts of the world, or keep them attending upon his own coasts, till he thinks fit to dismiss them. These fleets must likewise be subject in all things, not only to the

king, but to his viceroys, admirals, and governors, in any of his foreign dominions, when he is in a humour to apprehend an invasion, which, I believe, is an indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered nation.*

In the defensive alliance with that crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only England and Holland are parties with them, the same care, in almost the same words, is taken, for our fleet to attend their coasts and foreign dominions, and to be under the same obedience. We and the States are likewise to furnish them with twelve thousand men at our own charge, which we are constantly to recruit, and these are to be subject to the Portuguese generals.

In the offensive alliance, we took no care of having the assistance of Portugal, whenever we should be invaded; but in this it seems we are wiser; for that king is obliged to make war on France or Spain, whenever we or Holland are invaded by either; but before this, we are to supply them with the same forces both by sea and land, as if he were invaded himself. And this must needs be a very prudent and safe course for a maritime power to take, upon a sudden invasion; by which, instead of making use of our fleets and armies for our own defence, we must send them abroad for the defence of Portugal.

By the thirteenth article, we are told what this assistance is, which the Portuguese are to give us, and upon what conditions. They are to furnish ten men of war; and when England and Holland shall be invaded by France and Spain together, or

* To this it was plausibly answered, that an engagement to support the King of Portugal with a fleet for his defence, no way implied its being placed at his implicit disposal.

by Spain alone, in either of these cases, those ten Portuguese men of war are to serve only upon their own coasts; where, no doubt, they will be of mighty use to their allies, and terror to the enemy.

How the Dutch were drawn to have a part in either of these two alliances, is not very material to inquire, since they have been so wise as never to observe them, nor I suppose ever intended it, but resolved, as they have since done, to shift the load upon us.

Let any man read these two treaties from the beginning to the end, he will imagine that the King of Portugal and his ministers sat down and made them by themselves, and then sent them to their allies to sign; the whole spirit and tenor of them quite through running only upon this single point, what we and Holland are to do for Portugal, without any mention of an equivalent, except those ten ships, which, at the time when we have greatest need of their assistance, are obliged to attend upon their own coasts.

The barrier treaty between Great Britain and Holland was concluded at the Hague on the 29th of October, in the year 1709. In this treaty neither her majesty nor her kingdoms have any interest or concern, farther than what is mentioned in the second and the twentieth articles; by the former, the States are to assist the queen in defending the act of succession; and by the other, not to treat of a peace till France has acknowledged the queen, and the succession of Hanover, and promised to remove the Pretender out of that king's dominions.

As to the first of these, it is certainly for the safety and interest of the States-General, that the Protestant succession should be preserved in England; because, such a popish prince as we appre-

hend would infallibly join with France in the ruin of that republic. And the Dutch are as much bound to support our succession, as they are tied to any part of a treaty, or league offensive and defensive against a common enemy, without any separate benefit upon that consideration. Her majesty is in the full peaceable possession of her kingdoms, and of the hearts of her people, among whom, hardly one in five thousand is in the Pretender's interest. And whether the assistance of the Dutch, to preserve a right so well established, be an equivalent to those many unreasonable exorbitant articles in the rest of the treaty, let the world judge. What an impression of our settlement must it give abroad, to see our ministers offering such conditions to the Dutch, to prevail on them to be guarantees of our acts of parliament! Neither, perhaps, is it right, in point of policy or good sense, that a foreign power should be called in to confirm our succession by way of guarantee, but only to acknowledge it, otherwise we put it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession, without the consent of that prince or state who is guarantee, however our posterity may hereafter, by the tyranny and oppression of any succeeding princes, be reduced to the fatal necessity of breaking in upon the excellent happy settlement now in force.*

As to the other articles, it is a natural consequence that must attend any treaty of peace we can make with France, being only the acknowledgment of her majesty as queen of her own dominions, and the right of succession by our own laws, which no foreign power has any pretence to dispute.

However, in order to deserve these mighty

* See the Postscript.

advantages from the States, the rest of the treaty is wholly taken up in directing what we are to do for them.

By the grand alliance, which was the foundation of the present war, the Spanish Low Countries were to be recovered, and delivered to the King of Spain; but, by this treaty, that prince is to possess nothing in Flanders during the war: and after a peace, the States are to have the military command of about twenty towns, with their dependencies, and four hundred thousand crowns a year from the King of Spain, to maintain their garrisons. By which means, they will have the command of all Flanders, from Newport on the Sea, to Namur on the Maese, and be entirely masters of the Pais de Waas, the richest part of those provinces. Farther, they have liberty to garrison any place they shall think fit in the Spanish Low Countries; whenever there is an appearance of war; and consequently to put garrisons into Ostend, or where else they please, upon a rupture with England.

By this treaty likewise, the Dutch will in effect be entire masters of all the Low Countries; may impose duties, restrictions in commerce, and prohibitions, at their pleasure; and in that fertile country may set up all sorts of manufactures, particularly the woollen, by inviting the disobliged manufacturers in Ireland, and the French refugees, who are scattered all over Germany. And as this manufacture increases abroad, the clothing people of England will be necessitated, for want of employment to follow; and in few years, by the help of the low interest of money in Holland, Flanders may recover that beneficial trade, which we got from them. The landed men of England will then be forced to re-establish the staples of wool abroad; and the Dutch, instead of being only the carriers,

will become the original possessors of those commodities, with which the greatest part of the trade of the world is now carried on. And as they increase their trade, it is obvious they will enlarge their strength at sea, and that ours must lessen in proportion.

All the ports in Flanders are to be subject to the like duties that the Dutch shall lay upon the Schelde, which is to be closed on the side of the States: thus all other nations are in effect shut out from trading with Flanders. Yet in the very same article it is said, that the States shall be favoured in all the Spanish dominions as much as Great Britain, or as the people most favoured. We have conquered Flanders for them, and are in a worse condition, as to our trade there, than before the war began. We have been the great support of the King of Spain, to whom the Dutch have hardly contributed anything at all; and yet they are to be equally favoured with us in all his dominions. Of all this, the queen is under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee, and that they shall possess their barrier, and their four hundred thousand crowns a-year, even before a peace.

It is to be observed, that this treaty was only signed by one of our plenipotentiaries;* and I have been told that the other† was heard to say, he would rather lose his right hand than set it to such a treaty. Had he spoke those words in due season, and loud enough to be heard on this side the water, considering the credit he had then at court, he might have saved much of his country's honour, and got as much to himself; therefore, if the report be true, I am inclined to think he only said it. I have been likewise told, that some very necessary

* Lord Townshend. † Duke of Marlborough.

circumstances were wanting in the entrance upon this treaty; but the ministers here rather chose to sacrifice the honour of the crown, and the safety of their country, than not ratify what one of their favourites had transacted.

Let me now consider in what manner our allies have observed those treaties they made with us, and the several stipulations and agreements pursuant to them.

By the grand alliance between the Empire, England, and Holland, we were to assist the other two *totis viribus* by sea and land. By a convention subsequent to this treaty, the proportions, which the several parties should contribute toward the war, were adjusted in the following manner: the emperor was obliged to furnish ninety thousand men against France, either in Italy or upon the Rhine; Holland to bring sixty thousand into the field in Flanders, exclusive of garrisons; and we forty thousand. In winter 1702, which was the next year, the Duke of Marlborough proposed raising ten thousand men more by way of augmentation, and to carry on the war with greater vigour; to which the parliament agreed, and the Dutch were to raise the same number. This was upon a par, directly contrary to the former stipulation, whereby our part was to be a third less than theirs; and therefore it was granted with a condition, that Holland should break off all trade and commerce with France. But this condition was never executed; the Dutch only amusing us with a specious declaration, till our session of parliament was ended; and the following year it was taken off by concert between our general and the States, without any reason assigned for the satisfaction of the kingdom. The next, and some ensuing campaigns, farther additional forces were allowed by parliament

for the war in Flanders; and in every new supply, the Dutch gradually lessened their proportions, although the parliament addressed the queen, that the States might be desired to observe them according to agreement; which had no other effect than to teach them to elude it by making their troops nominal corps; as they did, by keeping up the number of regiments, but sinking a fifth part of the men and money; so that now things are just inverted. And in all new levies, we contributed a third more than the Dutch, who, at first, were obliged to the same proportion more than we.*

Besides, the more towns we conquer for the States, the worse condition we are in toward reducing the common enemy, and consequently of putting an end to the war. For they make no scruple of employing the troops of their quota, towards garrisoning every town, as fast as it is taken; directly contrary to the agreement between us, by which all garrisons are particularly excluded. This is at length arrived, by several steps, to such a height, that there are at present in the field, not so many forces under the Duke of Marlborough's

* This is stoutly denied by Dr. Hare. "Another thing this writer often insinuates is, that 'tis *we*, that is England, that gain their towns, and not the Dutch; which is so ridiculous a notion, that it is a wonder to me, how anybody above the vulgar can fall into it. They, indeed, fancy 'tis English blood and English money does everything, and that this taking of so many towns puts us to a vast expence, which otherwise would be saved. But how very silly is all this talk? Does not everybody know, that the queen's own troops are not a tenth part of the whole confederate army? That our proportion of the troops employed in a siege are seldom above five or six battalions in 30 or 40? That it is the States, and not England, are at the prodigious expence of ammunition and artillery that have been employed, and spent in the sieges we have made?"—*The Allies and the late Ministry defended*, Part IV. p. 14.

command in Flanders, as Britain alone maintains for that service, nor have been for some years past.

The Duke of Marlborough having entered the enemy's lines and taken Bouchain, formed the design of keeping so great a number of troops, and particularly of cavalry, in Lisle, Tournay, Douay, and the country between, as should be able to harass all the neighbouring provinces of France during the winter, prevent the enemy from erecting their magazines, and by consequence from subsisting their forces next spring, and render it impossible for them to assemble their army another year, without going back behind the Soam to do it. In order to effect this project, it was necessary to be at an expence extraordinary of forage for the troops, for building stables, finding fire and candle for the soldiers, and other incident charges. The queen readily agreed to furnish her share of the first article, that of the forage, which only belonged to her. But the States insisting, that her majesty should likewise come into a proportion of the other articles, which in justice belonged totally to them; she agreed even to that, rather than a design of this importance should fail. And yet we know it has failed, and that the Dutch refused their consent, till the time was past for putting it in execution, even in the opinion of those who proposed it. Perhaps a certain article in the treatise of contribution, submitted to by such of the French dominions as pay them to the States, was the principal cause of defeating this project; since one great advantage to have been gained by it was, as before is mentioned, to have hindered the enemy from erecting their magazines; and one article in those treaties of contribution is, that the product of those countries shall pass free and unmolested. So that the question was reduced to this short issue: whether the

Dutch should lose this paltry benefit, or the common cause an advantage of such mighty importance?

The sea being the element where we might most probably carry on the war with any advantage to ourselves, it was agreed that we should bear five-eighths of the charge in that service, and the Dutch the other three; and by the grand alliance, whatever we or Holland should conquer in the Spanish West Indies, was to accrue to the conquerors. It might therefore have been hoped, that this maritime ally of ours would have made up in their fleet, what they fell short in their army; but quite otherwise; they never once furnished their quota either of ships or men; or, if some few of their fleet now and then appeared, it was no more than appearing: for they immediately separated, to look to their merchants, and protect their trade. And we may remember very well, when these guarantees of our succession, after having not one ship for many months together in the Mediterranean, sent that part of their quota thither, and furnished nothing to us, at the same time that they alarmed us with the rumour of an invasion. And last year, when Sir James Wishart was dispatched into Holland to expostulate with the States, and to desire they would make good their agreements in so important a part of the service; he met with such a reception as ill became a republic to give, that were under so many great obligations to us; in short, such a one, as those only deserve who are content to take it.

It has likewise been no small inconvenience to us, that the Dutch are always slow in paying their subsidies; by which means the weight and pressure of the payment lies upon the queen, as well as the blame, if her majesty be not very exact. Nor will this always content our allies: for in July 1711, the

King of Spain was paid all his subsidies to the first of January next; nevertheless he has since complained for want of money; and his secretary threatened, that if we would not farther supply his majesty, he could not answer for what might happen; although King Charles had not at that time one-third of the troops for which he was paid; and even those he had were neither paid nor clothed.

I cannot forbear mentioning here another passage concerning subsidies, to show what opinion foreigners have of our easiness, and how much they reckon themselves masters of our money, whenever they think fit to call for it. The queen was, by agreement, to pay two hundred thousand crowns a year to the Prussian troops; the States one hundred thousand; and the emperor only thirty thousand for recruiting, which his imperial majesty never paid. Prince Eugene happening to pass by Berlin, the ministers of that court applied to him for redress in this particular; and his highness very frankly promised them, that, in consideration of this deficiency, Britain and the States should increase their subsidies to seventy thousand crowns more between them; and that the emperor should be punctual for the time to come. This was done by that prince without any orders or power whatsoever. The Dutch very reasonably refused consenting to it; but the Prussian minister here, making his applications at our court, prevailed on us to agree to our proportion, before we could hear what resolution would be taken in Holland. It is therefore to be hoped, that his Prussian majesty, at the end of this war, will not have the same cause of complaint which he had at the close of the last; that his military chest was emptier by twenty thousand crowns than at the time that war began.

The emperor, as we have already said, was, by

stipulation, to furnish ninety thousand men, against the common enemy, as having no fleets to maintain, and in right of his family being most concerned in the war. However, this agreement has been so ill observed, that from the beginning of the war to this day, neither of the two last emperors had ever twenty thousand men, on their own account, in the common cause, excepting once in Italy, when the imperial court exerted itself in a point they have much more at heart, than that of gaining Spain or the Indies to their family. When they had succeeded in their attempts on the side of Italy, and observed our blind zeal for pushing on the war at all adventures, they soon found out the most effectual expedient to excuse themselves. They computed easily, that it would cost them less, to make large presents to one single person, than to pay an army, and turn to as good account.* They

* "In answer to which I do confess, that the Emperor Leopold indeed did, in acknowledgment of his having saved the empire by his unparalleled wisdom and conduct, make him a prince of it: and that he might have the honour of a vote in the diet, did erect Mindelheim into a principality, which, after several times declining it, he did accept, with the queen's leave and approbation. And I have heard besides, of four or five pictures given him, which, having been the Elector of Bavaria's, were a very natural and decent present to him, who had freed the empire of an enemy, and obliged him to seek for refuge in France, who, but a little before, had conceived great hopes of driving the emperor from Vienna, and assuming to himself the imperial dignity. Besides these presents I have never heard of any, but have just grounds to believe that he never received so much as one, and that there is not a more false and malicious insinuation than this in the whole libel, which is enough to say of it: And had this writer any sense of honour or conscience, he would not, to murder the reputation of a man, who has done so much honour to his country, and to whose services, under God, Europe owes its liberty, put such constructions on things as he knows have no truth in them; he would not impute the effects of the emperor's inability to the person that saved his empire; he would not look

thought they could not put their affairs into better hands; and therefore wisely left us to fight their battles.

Besides, it appeared, by several instances, how little the emperor regarded his allies, or the cause they were engaged in, when once he thought the empire itself was secure. It is known enough, that he might several times have made a peace with his discontented subjects in Hungary, upon terms not at all unbefitting either his dignity or interest; but he rather chose to sacrifice the whole alliance to his private passion, by entirely subduing and enslaving a miserable people, who had but too much provocation to take up arms, to free themselves from the oppression under which they were groaning; yet this must serve as an excuse for breaking his agreement, and diverting so great a body of troops, which might have been employed against France.

Another instance of the emperor's indifference, or rather dislike, to the common cause of the allies, is the business of Toulon. This design was indeed discovered here at home, by a person whom everybody knows to be the creature of a certain great man, at least as much noted for his skill in gaming as in politics, upon the base mercenary end of getting money by wagers; which was then so common a practice, that I remember a gentleman in business, who having the curiosity to inquire how wagers went upon the Exchange, found some people deep in the secret to have been concerned in that kind of traffic; as appeared by premiums

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for an expedient in presents, that were not made, nor interpret in so villanous a manner, acknowledgments which all the world thought so well deserved, and will think so, in spite of his author and his friends."—*The Allies and the late Ministers defended*, Part III. Lond. 1711, p. 89.

named for towns, which nobody but those behind the curtain could suspect. However, although this project had gotten wind by so scandalous a proceeding, yet Toulon might probably have been taken, if the emperor had not thought fit, in that very juncture, to detach twelve or fifteen thousand men to seize Naples, as an enterprise that was more his private and immediate interest. But it was manifest, that his imperial majesty had no mind to see Toulon in possession of the allies; for, even with these discouragements, the attempt might yet have succeeded, if Prince Eugene had not thought fit to oppose it, which cannot be imputed to his own judgment, but to some politic reasons of his court. The Duke of Savoy was for attacking the enemy as soon as our army arrived; but when the Mareschal de Thesse's troops were all come up, to pretend to besiege the place in the condition we were at that time, was a farce and a jest. Had Toulon fallen then into our hands, the maritime power of France would in a great measure have been destroyed.

But a much greater instance than either of the foregoing, how little the emperor regarded us or our quarrel, after all we had done to save his imperial crown, and to assert the title of his brother to the monarchy of Spain, may be brought from the proceedings of that court not many months ago. It was judged, that a war carried on upon the side of Italy would cause a great diversion of the French forces, wound them in a very tender part, and facilitate the progress of our arms in Spain, as well as Flanders. It was proposed to the Duke of Savoy to make this diversion, and not only a diversion during the summer, but the winter too, by taking quarters on this side of the hills. Only, in order to make him willing and able to perform this

work, two points were to be settled: first, it was necessary to end the dispute between the imperial court and his royal highness, which had no other foundation than the emperor's refusing to make good some articles of that treaty, on the faith of which the duke engaged in the present war, and for the execution whereof Britain and Holland became guarantees, at the request of the late emperor Leopold. To remove this difficulty, the Earl of Peterborow was dispatched to Vienna, got over some parts of those disputes to the satisfaction of the Duke of Savoy, and had put the rest in a fair way of being accommodated, at the time the emperor Joseph died. Upon which great event, the Duke of Savoy took the resolution of putting himself immediately at the head of the army, although the whole matter was not finished, since the common cause required his assistance; and that until a new emperor were elected, it was impossible to make good the treaty to him. In order to enable him, the only thing he asked was, that he should be reinforced by the imperial court with eight thousand men before the end of the campaign. Mr. Whitworth was sent to Vienna to make this proposal; and it is credibly reported, that he was empowered, rather than fail, to offer forty thousand pounds for the march of those eight thousand men, if he found it was want of ability, and not inclination, that hindered the sending of them. But he was so far from succeeding, that it was said, the ministers of that court did not so much as give him an opportunity to tempt them with any particular sums, but cut off all his hopes at once, by alleging the impossibility of complying with the queen's demands, upon any consideration whatsoever. They could not plead their old excuse of the war in Hungary, which was then brought to an end.

They had nothing to offer but some general speculative reasons, which it would expose them to repeat; and so, after much delay, and many trifling pretences, they utterly refused so small and seasonable an assistance, to the ruin of a project that would have more terrified France, and caused a greater diversion of their forces, than a much more numerous army in any other part. Thus, for want of eight thousand men, for whose winter campaign the queen was willing to give forty thousand pounds, and for want of executing the design I lately mentioned, of hindering the enemy from erecting magazines, toward which her majesty was ready, not only to bear her own proportion, but a share of that which the States were obliged to, our hopes of taking winter quarters in the north and south parts of France are eluded, and the war left in that method which is likely to continue it longest. Can there an example be given, in the whole course of this war, where we have treated the pettiest prince, with whom we have had to deal, in so contemptuous a manner? Did we ever once consider what we could afford, or what we were obliged to, when our assistance was desired, even while we lay under immediate apprehensions of being invaded?

When Portugal came as a confederate into the grand alliance, it was stipulated, that the empire, England, and Holland, should each maintain four thousand men of their own troops in that kingdom, and pay between them a million of patacoons to the King of Portugal, for the support of twenty-eight thousand Portuguese, which number of forty thousand was to be the confederate army against Spain on the Portugal side. This treaty was ratified by all the three powers. But in a short time after, the emperor declared himself unable to comply with this part of the agreement, and so left

the two-thirds upon us, who very generously undertook that burden, and at the same time two-thirds of the subsidies for maintenance of the Portuguese troops. But neither is this the worst part of the story; for although the Dutch did indeed send their own particular quota of four thousand men to Portugal, (which, however, they would not agree to but upon condition that the other two-thirds should be supplied by us,) yet they never took care to recruit them; for, in the year 1706, the Portuguese, British, and Dutch forces, having marched with the Earl of Galway into Castile, and by the noble conduct of that general being forced to retire into Valencia, it was found necessary to raise a new army on the Portugal side, where the queen has, at several times, increased her establishment to ten thousand five hundred men; and the Dutch never replaced one single man, nor paid one penny of their subsidies to Portugal in six years.

The Spanish army on the side of Catalonia is, or ought to be, about fifty thousand men, exclusive of Portugal. And here the war has been carried on almost entirely at our cost. For this whole army is paid by the queen, excepting only seven battalions, and fourteen squadrons, of Dutch and Palatines; and even fifteen hundred of these are likewise in our pay, beside the sums given to King Charles for subsidies, and the maintenance of his court. Neither are our troops at Gibraltar included within this number. And farther, we alone have been at all the charge of transporting the forces first sent from Genoa to Barcelona, and of all the imperial recruits from time to time. And have likewise paid vast sums, as levy-money, for every individual man and horse so furnished to recruit, although the horses were scarce worth the price of transportation. But this has been almost the constant misfortune of our

fleet during the present war; instead of being employed on some enterprise for the good of the nation, or even for the protection of our trade, to be wholly taken up in transporting soldiers.

We have actually conquered all Bavaria, Ulm, Augsbourg, Landau, and great part of Alsace, for the emperor; and, by the troops we have furnished, the armies we have paid, and the diversions we have given to the enemies' forces, have chiefly contributed to the conquests of Milan, Mantua, and Mirandola, and to the recovery of the duchy of Modena. The last emperor drained the wealth of those countries into his own coffers, without increasing his troops against France by such mighty acquisitions, or yielding to the most reasonable requests we have made.

Of the many towns we have taken for the Dutch, we have consented, by the barrier treaty, that all those which were not in the possession of Spain upon the death of the late Catholic king, shall be part of the States' dominions, and that they shall have the military power in the most considerable of the rest; which is, in effect, to be the absolute sovereigns of the whole. And the Hollanders have already made such good use of their time, that, in conjunction with our general, the oppressions of Flanders are much greater than ever.

And this treatment, which we have received from our two principal allies, has been pretty well copied by most other princes in the confederacy with whom we have any dealings. For instance: seven Portuguese regiments, after the battle of Almanza, went off, with the rest of that broken army, to Catalonia; the King of Portugal said he was not able to pay them while they were out of his country; the queen consented therefore to do it herself, provided the king would raise as many more to supply their

place. This he engaged to do, but he never performed. Notwithstanding which, his subsidies were constantly paid him by Lord Godolphin for almost four years, without any deduction upon account of those seven regiments, directly contrary to the seventh article of our offensive alliance with that crown, where it is agreed, that a deduction shall be made out of those subsidies, in proportion to the number of men wanting in that complement which the king is to maintain. But, whatever might have been the reasons for this proceeding, it seems they are above the understanding of the present lord-treasurer; * who, not entering into those refinements of paying the public money upon private considerations, has been so uncourtly as to stop it. This disappointment, I suppose, has put the court of Lisbon upon other expedients, of raising the price of forage, so as to force us either to lessen our number of troops, or to be at double expence in maintaining them; and this, at a time when their own product, as well as the import of corn, was never greater; and of demanding a duty upon the soldiers' clothes we carried over for those troops, which have been their sole defence against an inveterate enemy; whose example might have infused courage, as well as taught them discipline, if their spirits had been capable of receiving either.

In order to augment our forces every year, in the same proportion for those for whom we fight diminish theirs, we have been obliged to hire troops from several princes of the empire, whose ministers and residents here have perpetually importuned the court with unreasonable demands, under which our late ministers thought fit to be passive. For those demands were always backed with a threat to recal

* Earl of Oxford.

their soldiers, which was a thing not to be heard of, because it might discontent the Dutch. In the meantime, those princes never sent their contingent to the emperor, as by the laws of the empire they are obliged to do, but gave for their excuse, that we had already hired all they could possibly spare.

But, if all this be true; if, according to what I have affirmed, we began this war contrary to reason: if, as the other party themselves upon all occasions acknowledge, the success we have had was more than we could reasonably expect; if, after all our success, we have not made that use of it which in reason we ought to have done; if we have made weak and foolish bargains with our allies, suffered them tamely to break every article, even in those bargains to our disadvantage, and allowed them to treat us with insolence and contempt, at the very instant when we were gaining towns, provinces, and kingdoms for them, at the price of our ruin, and without any prospect of interest to ourselves; if we have consumed all our strength in attacking the enemy on the strongest side, where (as the old Duke of Schomberg expressed it) to engage with France was to take a bull by the horns, and left wholly unattempted that part of the war which could only enable us to continue or to end it; if all this, I say, be our case, it is a very obvious question to ask, by what motives, or what management, we are thus become the dupes and bubbles of Europe? Surely it cannot be owing to the stupidity arising from the coldness of our climate, since those among our allies, who have given us most reason to complain, are as far removed from the sun as ourselves.

If, in laying open the real causes of our present misery, I am forced to speak with some freedom, I think it will require no apology. Reputation is the

smallest sacrifice those can make us, who have been the instruments of our ruin, because it is that, for which, in all probability, they have the least value. So that, in exposing the actions of such persons, I cannot be said, properly speaking, to do them an injury. But as it will be some satisfaction to our people to know by whom they have been so long abused, so it may be of great use to us, and our posterity, not to trust the safety of their country in the hands of those who act by such principles, and from such motives.

I have already observed, that when the counsels of this war were debated in the late king's time, a certain great man was then so averse from entering into it, that he rather chose to give up his employment, and tell the king he could serve him no longer. Upon that prince's death, although the grounds of our quarrel with France had received no manner of addition, yet this lord thought fit to alter his sentiments; for the scene was quite changed: his lordship, and the family with whom he was engaged by so complicated an alliance, were in the highest credit possible with the queen. The treasurer's staff was ready for his lordship; the duke was to command the army; and the duchess, by her employments, and the favour she was possessed of, to be always nearest her majesty's person; by which, the whole power at home and abroad would be devolved upon that family.* This was a

* The Duchess of Marlborough has left her own testimony, that a confidence in their High Church principles first brought her husband and Lord Godolphin into power. "I am firmly persuaded, that, notwithstanding her (the queen's) extraordinary affection for me, and the entire devotion which my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin had for many years shown to her service, they would not have had so great a share of her favour and confidence, if they had not been reckoned in the

prospect so very inviting, that, to confess the truth, it could not be easily withstood by any, who have so keen an appetite for wealth or power. By an agreement subsequent to the grand alliance, we were to assist the Dutch with forty thousand men, all to be commanded by the Duke of Marlborough. So that whether this war was prudently begun or not, it is plain that the true spring or motive of it was, the aggrandizing of a particular family; and, in short, a war of the general and the ministry, and not of the prince or people; since those very persons were against it, when they knew the power, and consequently the profit, would be in other hands.

With these measures fell in all that set of people, who are called the monied men; such as had raised vast sums by trading with stocks and funds, and lending upon great interest and premiums; whose perpetual harvest is war, and whose beneficial way of traffic must very much decline by a peace.

In that whole chain of encroachments made upon us by the Dutch, which I have above deduced; and under those several gross impositions from other princes; if any one should ask, why our general continued so easy to the last? I know no other way so probable, or indeed so charitable, to account for it, as by that unmeasurable love of wealth, which his best friends allow to be his predominant passion. However, I shall wave anything

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number of the Tories. The truth is, though both these lords had always the real interest of the nation at heart, and had given proof of this, by their conduct in their several employments; in the late reign, they had been educated in the persuasion that the High Church party were the best friends to the constitution, both of church and state, nor were they perfectly undeceived but by experience."—*Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, in a Letter from herself.* Lond. 1742, p. 125.

that is personal upon this subject. I shall say nothing of those great presents made by several princes, which the soldiers used to call winter foraging, and said it was better than that of the summer; of two and a half per cent. subtracted out of all the subsidies we pay in those parts, which amounts to no inconsiderable sum; and lastly, of the grand perquisites in a long successful war, which are so amicably adjusted between him and the States.

But when the war was thus begun, there soon fell in other incidents here at home, which made the continuance of it necessary for those who were the chief advisers. The Whigs were at that time out of all credit or consideration. The reigning favourites had always carried what were called the Tory principles, at least as high as our constitution could bear; and most others in great employments were wholly in the church interest. These last, among whom were several persons of the greatest merit, quality, and consequence, were not able to endure the many instances of pride, insolence, avarice, and ambition which those favourites began so early to discover, not to see them presuming to be sole dispensers of the royal favour. However, their opposition was to no purpose; they wrestled with too great a power, and were soon crushed under it. For, those in possession, finding they could never be quiet in their usurpations, while others had any credit, who were at least upon an equal foot of merit, began to make overtures to the discarded Whigs, who would be content with any terms of accommodation. Thus commenced this solemn league and covenant, which has ever since been cultivated with so much application. The great traders in money were wholly devoted to the Whigs who had first raised them. The army, the court, and the treasury, continued under the old

despotic administration: the Whigs were received into employment, left to manage the parliament, cry down the landed interest, and worry the church. Meantime, our allies, who were not ignorant that all this artificial structure had no true foundation in the hearts of the people, resolved to make the best use of it as long as it should last. And the general's credit being raised to a great height at home, by our success in Flanders, the Dutch began their gradual impositions; lessening their quotas, breaking their stipulations, garrisoning the towns we took for them, without supplying their troops; with many other infringements; all which were we forced to submit to, because the general was made easy; because the monied men at home were fond of the war; because the Whigs were not yet firmly settled; and because that exorbitant degree of power, which was built upon a supposed necessity of employing particular persons, would go off in a peace. It is needless to add, that the emperor, and other princes, followed the example of the Dutch, and succeeded as well, for the same reasons.

I have here imputed the continuance of the war to the mutual indulgence between our general and allies, wherein they both so well found their accounts; to the fears of the money-changers, lest their tables should be overthrown; to the designs of the Whigs, who apprehended the loss of their credit and employments in a peace; and to those at home, who held their immoderate engrossments of power and favour by no other tenure, than their own presumption upon the necessity of affairs. The truth of this will appear indisputable, by considering with what unanimity and concert these several parties acted toward that great end.

When the vote passed in the House of Lords against any peace without Spain being restored to

the Austrian family, the Earl of Wharton told the House, that it was indeed impossible and impracticable to recover Spain; but however, there were certain reasons why such a vote should be made at that time Which reasons wanted no explanation; for, the general and the ministry having refused to accept very advantageous offers of a peace, after the battle of Ramillies, were forced to take in a set of men with a previous bargain to screen them from the consequences of that miscarriage. And accordingly, upon the first succeeding opportunity that fell, which was that of the Prince of Denmark's * death, the chief leaders of the party were brought into several great employments.

Thus, when the queen was no longer able to bear the tyranny and insolence of those ungrateful servants, who, as they waxed the fatter, did but kick the more; our two great allies abroad, and our stock-jobbers at home, took immediate alarm; applied the nearest way to the throne, by memorials and messages jointly, directing her majesty not to change her secretary or treasurer; who, for the true reasons that these officious intermeddlers demanded their continuance, ought never to have been admitted into the least degree of trust; since what they did was nothing less than betraying the interest of their native country, to those princes, who, in their turns, were to do what they could to support them in power at home.

Thus it plainly appears that there was a conspiracy on all sides to go on with those measures, which must perpetuate the war; and a conspiracy founded upon the interest and ambition of each party; which begat so firm a union, that, instead of wondering why it lasted so long, I am astonished

* Prince George of Denmark, husband to Queen Anne.

to think how it came to be broken. The prudence, courage, and firmness of her majesty, in all the steps of that great change, would, if the particulars were truly related, make a very shining part in her story; nor is her judgment less to be admired, which directed her in the choice of perhaps the only persons, who had skill, credit, and resolution enough to be her instruments in overthrowing so many difficulties.

Some would pretend to lessen the merit of this, by telling us that the rudeness, the tyranny, the oppression, the ingratitude of the late favourites towards their mistress, were no longer to be borne. They produce instances to show her majesty was pursued through all her retreats, particularly at Windsor; where, after the enemy had possessed themselves of every inch of ground, they at last attacked and stormed the castle, forcing the queen to fly to an adjoining cottage,* pursuant to the advice of Solomon, who tells us, "It is better to

* There was a small house near the castle at Windsor, which Queen Anne had bought before her accession to the throne, and which she chose to inhabit in preference to the castle, while she held these secret intrigues with Mrs. Masham and Harley, that preceded the change of ministry. In the castle, the number of ostensible and honorary attendants upon her person, having been chiefly placed around her majesty by the Duchess of Marlborough, were probably regarded as so many spies. But the accusation in the text gave great offence to the Whigs, as will appear from the following quotation: "The q——n is at last driven from her castle, and forced to fly to a cottage! strange news indeed! I have heard there is a little house near the castle, which her m——— bought many years ago of my Lord G———, and is very fond of, as being warmer in it, and more retired than she could be in the castle. Behold now the impudence of these men! a good convenient house is with them a cottage; the place her m—— loves to be most in they say she is forced to fly to; and the castle she does not like they would make us believe she would never leave, if it were not attacked and stormed, and forcibly taken from her. The house she delighted to see her

live on the house-top, than with a scolding woman in a large house." They would have it, that such continued ill usage was enough to inflame the meekest spirit. They blame the favourites in point of policy, and think it nothing extraordinary, that the queen should be at the end of her patience, and resolve to discard them. But I am of another opinion, and think their proceedings were right. For, nothing is so apt to break even the bravest spirits, as a continual chain of oppressions; one injury is best defended by a second, and this by a third. By these steps, the old masters of the palace in France became masters of the kingdom; and by these steps, a general during pleasure might have grown into a general for life, and a general for life into a king. So that I still insist upon it as a wonder, how her majesty, thus besieged on all sides, was able to extricate herself.

Having thus mentioned the real causes, although disguised under specious pretences, which have so long continued the war, I must beg leave to reason a little with those persons, who are against any peace but what they call a good one; and explain

servants in, when they were most in her favour, and which she had bought, even before she was q——n, you would think she never saw, till she fled thither for a safe retreat from them. The sausage-maker in Aristophanes, though he could mix, jumble, and confound with great dexterity; when he would give a specimen of his abilities in impudence and lying, could say nothing that comes up to this. Bnt we have not done yet. The person that pursued the q——n thus terribly at Windsor, we are to know, by a profane application of scripture, is my Lady M———, who was so far from pursuing her m——— here, that these very people make it her great crime, that she neglected the q——n, and hardly ever came near her. And 'tis but too certain, that, to avoid the envy of being perpetually about the q——n, which is easily called besieging her, she was too much absent from her."—*The Allies and the late Ministry defended*, Part IV. Lond. 1712, p. 53.

themselves, that no peace can be good, without an entire restoration of Spain to the House of Austria. It is to be supposed, that what I am to say upon this part of the subject will have little influence on those, whose particular ends or designs of any sort lead them to wish the continuance of the war: I mean the general and our allies abroad, the knot of late favourites at home, the body of such as traffick in stocks, and lastly, that set of factious politicians, who were so violently bent, at least upon clipping our constitution, in church and state. Therefore I shall not apply myself to any of those, but to all others indifferently, whether Whigs or Tories, whose private interest is best answered by the welfare of their country. And if among these there be any who think we ought to fight on till King Charles be quietly settled in the monarchy of Spain, I believe there are several points which they have not thoroughly considered.

For, first, it is to be observed, that this resolution against any peace without Spain is a new incident, grafted upon the original quarrel by the intrigues of a faction among us, who prevailed to give it the sanction of a vote in both Houses of Parliament, to justify those whose interest lay in perpetuating the war. And as this proceeding was against the practice of all princes and states, whose intentions were fair and honourable; so is it contrary to common prudence, as well as justice, I might add that it was impious too, by presuming to control events which are only in the hands of God. Ours and the States' complaint against France and Spain are deduced in each of our declarations of war, and our pretensions specified in the eighth article of the grand alliance; but there is not in any of these the least mention of demanding Spain for the House of Austria, or of refusing any peace without that condition. Having

already made an extract from both declarations of war, I shall here give a translation of the eighth article in the grand alliance, which will put this matter out of dispute.

The Eighth Article of the Grand Alliance.

WHEN the war is once undertaken, none of the parties shall have the liberty to enter upon a treaty of peace with the enemy, but jointly and in concert with the other. Nor is peace to be made without having first obtained a just and reasonable satisfaction for his Cæsarean majesty, and for his royal majesty of Great Britain, and a particular security to the lords of the States-General, of their dominions, provinces, titles, navigation, and commerce; and a sufficient provision that the kingdoms of France and Spain be never united, or come under the government of the same person, or that the same man may never be king of both kingdoms; and particularly, that the French may never be in possession of the Spanish West Indies; and that they may not have the liberty of navigation, for conveniency of trade, under any pretence whatsoever, neither directly nor indirectly; except it is agreed that the subjects of Great Britain and Holland may have full power to use and enjoy all the same privileges, rights, immunities, and liberties of commerce, by land and sea, in Spain, in the Mediterranean, and in all the places and countries which the late King of Spain, at the time of his death, was in possession of, as well in Europe as elsewhere, as they did then use and enjoy; or which the subjects of both or each nation could use and enjoy, by virtue of any right obtained before the death of the said King of Spain, either by treaties, conventions, custom, or any other way whatsoever.

Here we see the demands intended to be insisted on by the allies upon any treaty of peace are, a just and reasonable satisfaction for the emperor and King of Great Britain, a security to the States-General for their dominions, &c., and a sufficient provision that France and Spain be never united under the same man as king of both kingdoms. The rest relates to the liberty of trade and commerce for us and the Dutch; but not a syllable of engaging to dispossess the Duke of Anjou.

But to know how this new language, of no peace without Spain, was first introduced, and at last prevailed among us, we must begin a great deal higher.

It was the partition treaty which begot the will in favour of the Duke of Anjou; for this naturally led the Spaniards to receive a prince supported by a great power, whose interest, as well as affection, engaged them to preserve that monarchy entire, rather than to oppose him in favour of another family, who must expect assistance from a number of confederates, whose principal members had already disposed of what did not belong to them, and by a previous treaty parcelled out the monarchy of Spain.

Thus the Duke of Anjou got into the full possession of all the kingdoms and states belonging to that monarchy, as well in the old world as the new. And whatever the House of Austria pretended from their memorials to us and the States, it was at that time but too apparent, that the inclinations of the Spaniards were on the duke's side.

However, a war was resolved on; and, in order to carry it on with great vigour, a grand alliance formed, wherein the ends proposed to be obtained are plainly and distinctly laid down, as I have already quoted them. It pleased God, in the course of this war, to bless the arms of the allies with

remarkable successes; by which we were soon put into a condition of demanding and expecting such terms of a peace, as we proposed to ourselves when we began the war. But instead of this, our victories only served to lead us on to farther visionary prospects; advantage was taken of the sanguine temper which so many successes had wrought the nation up to; new romantic views were proposed, and the old, reasonable, sober design was forgot.

This was the artifice of those here, who were sure to grow richer, as the public became poorer; and who, after the resolutions which the two houses were prevailed upon to make, might have carried on the war with safety to themselves, till malt and land were mortgaged, till a general excise was established, and the dixième denier raised by collectors in red coats. And this was just the circumstance which it suited their interests to be in.

The House of Austria approved this scheme with reason; since, whatever would be obtained by the blood and treasure of others, was to accrue to that family, while they only lent their name to the cause.

The Dutch might perhaps have grown resty under their burden; but care was likewise taken of that, by a barrier-treaty made with the States, which deserves such epithets as I care not to bestow; but may perhaps consider it, at a proper occasion, in a discourse by itself.

By this treaty, the condition of the war with respect to the Dutch was widely altered; they fought no longer for security, but for grandeur; and we, instead of labouring to make them safe, must beggar ourselves to make them formidable.

Will any one contend, that if, at the treaty of Gertruydenberg, we could have been satisfied with such terms of a peace, as we proposed to ourselves

by the grand alliance, the French would not have allowed them? It is plain they offered many more, and much greater, than ever we thought to insist on when the war began; and they had reason to grant, as well as we to demand them, since conditions of peace do certainly turn upon events of war. But surely there is some measure to be observed in this; those who have defended the proceedings of our negotiators at the treaty of Gertruydenberg, dwell very much upon their zeal and patience in endeavouring to work the French up to their demands; but say nothing to justify those demands, or the probability that France would ever accept them. Some of the articles in that treaty were so extravagant, that in all human probability we could not have obtained them by a successful war of forty years. One of them was inconsistent with common reason; wherein the confederates reserved to themselves full liberty of demanding what farther conditions they should think fit; and, in the meantime, France was to deliver up several of their strongest towns in a month. These articles were very gravely signed by our plenipotentiaries, and those of Holland; but not by the French, although it ought to have been done interchangeably; nay, they were brought over by the secretary of the embassy; and the ministers here prevailed on the queen to execute a ratification of articles, which only one part had signed. This was an absurdity in form, as well as in reason; because the usual form of a ratification is with a preamble, showing, that whereas our ministers, and those of the allies, and of the enemy, have signed, &c., we ratify, &c. The person * who brought over the articles said in all companies, (and perhaps believed,) that it was a pity we had not

* Horatio Walpole, secretary to that embassy.

demanded more; for the French were in a disposition to refuse us nothing we would ask. One of our plenipotentiaries affected to have the same concern; and particularly that we had not obtained some farther security for the empire on the Upper Rhine.

What could be the design of all this grimace but to amuse the people, and to raise stocks for their friends in the secret to sell to advantage? I have too great a respect for the abilities of those who acted in this negotiation, to believe they hoped for any other issue from it, than what we found by the event. Give me leave to suppose the continuance of the war was the thing at heart among those in power, both abroad and at home; and then I can easily show the consistency of their proceedings, otherwise they are wholly unaccountable and absurd. Did those who insisted on such wild demands ever intend a peace? Did they really think, that going on with the war was more eligible for their country than the least abatement of those conditions? Was the smallest of them worth six millions a year, and a hundred thousand men's lives? Was there no way to provide for the safety of Britain, or the security of its trade, but by the French king turning his arms to beat his grandson out of Spain? If these able statesmen were so truly concerned for our trade, which they made the pretence of the war's beginning, as well as continuance; why did they so neglect it in those very preliminaries, where the enemy made so many concessions, and where all that related to the advantage of Holland, or the other confederates, was expressly settled? But whatever concerned us was to be left to a general treaty; no tariff agreed on with France or the Low Countries, only the Scheldt was to remain shut, which must have ruined our commerce with Ant-

werp. Our trade with Spain was referred the same way; but this they will pretend to be of no consequence, because that kingdom was to be under the House of Austria, and we had already made a treaty with King Charles. I have, indeed, heard of a treaty made by Mr. Stanhope with that prince, for settling our commerce with Spain: but, whatever it were, there was another between us and Holland, which went hand and hand with it, I mean that of barrier, wherein a clause was inserted, by which all advantages proposed for Britain are to be in common with Holland.

Another point, which I doubt those have not considered who are against any peace without Spain, is, that the face of affairs in Christendom, since the emperor's death, has been very much changed. By this accident, the views and interests of several princes and states in the alliance have taken a new turn, and I believe it will be found that ours ought to do so too. We have sufficiently blundered once already, by changing our measures with regard to a peace, while our affairs continued in the same posture; and it will be too much in conscience to blunder again, by not changing the first, when the others are so much altered.

To have a prince of the Austrian family on the throne of Spain, is undoubtedly more desirable than one of the House of Bourbon; but to have the empire and Spanish monarchy united in the same person, is a dreadful consideration, and directly opposite to that wise principle on which the eighth article of the alliance is founded.

To this, perhaps, it will be objected, that the indolent character of the Austrian princes, the wretched economy of that government, the want of a naval force, the remote distances of their several territories from each other, would never suffer an

emperor, although at the same time King of Spain, to become formidable; on the contrary, that his dependence must continually be on Great Britain; and the advantages of trade, by a peace founded upon that condition, would soon make us amends for all the expences of the war.

In answer to this, let us consider the circumstances we must be in, before such a peace could be obtained, if it were at all practicable. We must become not only poor for the present, but reduced by farther mortgages to a state of beggary for endless years to come. Compare such a weak condition as this, with so great an accession of strength to Austria; and then determine how much an emperor, in such a state of affairs, would either fear or need Britain.

Consider that the comparison is not formed between a prince of the House of Austria, Emperor and King of Spain, and with a prince of the Bourbon family, King of France and Spain; but between a prince of the latter, only King of Spain, and one of the former, uniting both crowns in his own person.

What returns of gratitude can we expect when we are no longer wanted? Has all that we have hitherto done for the imperial family been taken as a favour, or only received as the due of the *augustissima casa?*

Will the House of Austria yield the least acre of land, the least article of strained, and even usurped prerogative, to resettle the minds of those princes in the alliance, who are alarmed at the consequences of this turn of affairs, occasioned by the emperor's death? We are assured it never will. Do we then imagine that those princes who dread the overgrown power of the Austrian, as much as that of the Bourbon family, will continue in our alliance, upon

a system contrary to that which they engage with us upon? For instance, what can the Duke of Savoy expect in such a case? Will he have any choice left him, but that of being a slave and a frontier to France; or a vassal, in the utmost extent of the word, to the imperial court? Will he not, therefore, of the two evils choose the least; by submitting to a master who has no immediate claim upon him, and to whose family he is nearly allied, rather than to another, who has already revived several claims upon him, and threatens to revive more?

Nor are the Dutch more inclined than the rest of Europe, that the empire and Spain should be united in King Charles, whatever they may now pretend. On the contrary, it is known to several persons, that upon the death of the late Emperor Joseph, the States resolved that those two powers should not be joined in the same person; and this they determined as a fundamental maxim by which they intended to proceed. So that Spain was first given up by them; and since they maintained no troops in that kingdom, it should seem that they understand the Duke of Anjou to be lawful monarch.

Thirdly, Those who are against any peace without Spain, if they be such as no way find their private account by the war, may perhaps change their sentiments, if they will reflect a little upon our present condition.

I had two reasons for not sooner publishing this discourse; the first was, because I would give way to others, who might argue very well upon the same subject from general topics and reason, although they might be ignorant of several facts, which I had the opportunity to know. The second was, because I found it would be necessary, in the course of this argument, to say something of the state to which the war has reduced us; at the same time I knew,

that such a discovery ought to be made as late as possible, and at another juncture would not only be very indiscreet, but might perhaps be dangerous.

It is the folly of too many to mistake the echo of a London coffeehouse for the voice of the kingdom. The city coffeehouses have been for some years filled with people, whose fortunes depend upon the Bank, East India, or some other stock. Every new fund to these is like a new mortgage to a usurer, whose compassion for a young heir is exactly the same with that of a stock-jobber to the landed gentry. At the court end of the town, the like places of resort are frequented either by men out of place, and consequently enemies to the present ministry, or by officers of the army: no wonder then if the general cry, in all such meetings, be against any peace, either with Spain or without; which, in other words, is no more than this, that discontented men desire another change of ministry; that soldiers would be glad to keep their commissions; and that the creditors have money still, and would have the debtors borrow on at the old extorting rate, while they have any security to give.

Now, to give the most ignorant reader some idea of our present circumstances, without troubling him or myself with computations in form; everybody knows that our land and malt tax amount annually to about two millions and a half. All other branches of the revenue are mortgaged to pay interest for what we have already borrowed. The yearly charge of the war is usually about six millions; to make up which sum, we are forced to take up, on the credit of new funds, about three millions and a half. This last year, the computed charge of the war came to above a million more than all the funds the parliament could contrive were sufficient to pay interest for; and so we have been forced to divide a deficiency

of twelve hundred thousand pounds, among the several branches of our expence. This is a demonstration, that if the war be to last another campaign, it will be impossible to find funds for supplying it, without mortgaging the malt tax, or by some other method equally desperate.

If the peace be made this winter, we are then to consider what circumstances we shall be in toward paying a debt of about fifty millions, which is a fourth part of the purchase of the whole island if it were to be sold.

Toward clearing ourselves of this monstrous incumbrance, some of these annuities will expire, or pay off the principal in thirty, forty, or a hundred years; the bulk of the debt must be lessened gradually by the best management we can, out of what will remain of the land and malt taxes, after paying guards and garrisons, and maintaining and supplying our fleet in the time of peace. I have not skill enough to compute what will be left, after these necessary charges, toward annually clearing so vast a debt; but believe it must be very little: however, it is plain that both these taxes must be continued, as well for supporting the government, as because we have no other means for paying off the principal. And so likewise must all the other funds remain for paying the interest. How long a time this must require, how steady an administration, and how undisturbed a state of affairs both at home and abroad, let others determine.

However, some people think all this very reasonable; and that since the struggle has been for peace and safety, posterity, which is to partake of the benefit, ought to share in the expence; as if at the breaking out of this war, there had been such a conjuncture of affairs, as never happened before, nor would ever happen again. It is wonderful that

our ancestors, in all their wars, should never fall under such a necessity; that we meet no examples of it in Greece and Rome; that no other nation in Europe ever knew anything like it, except Spain about a hundred and twenty years ago, when they drew it upon themselves by their own folly, and have suffered for it ever since; no doubt we shall teach posterity wisdom, but they will be apt to think the purchase too dear, and I wish they may stand to the bargain we have made in their names.

It is easy to entail debts on succeeding ages, and to hope they will be able and willing to pay them; but how to ensure peace for any term of years, is difficult enough to apprehend. Will human nature ever cease to have the same passions; princes to entertain designs of interest or ambition; and occasions of quarrel to arise? May not we ourselves, by the variety of events and incidents which happen in the world, be under a necessity of recovering towns, out of the very hands of those, for whom we are now ruining our country to take them? Neither can it be said, that those states, with whom we may probably differ, will be in as bad a condition as ourselves; for by the circumstances of our situation, and the impositions of our allies, we are more exhausted than either they or the enemy: and by the nature of our government, the corruption of our manners, and the opposition of factions, we shall be more slow in recovering.

It will no doubt be a mighty comfort to our grandchildren, when they see a few rags hung up in Westminster Hall, which cost a hundred millions, whereof they are paying the arrears, to boast as beggars do, that their grandfathers were rich and great.*

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* Johnson perhaps recollected this passage when he wrote the following lines:

I have often reflected on that mistaken notion of credit, so boasted of by the advocates of the late ministry: was not all that credit built upon funds raised by the landed men, whom they now so much hate and despise? Is not the greatest part of those funds raised from the growth and product of land? Must not the whole debt be entirely paid, and our fleets and garrisons be maintained, by the land and malt tax after a peace? If they call it credit to run ten millions in debt without parliamentary security, by which the public is defrauded of almost half; I must think such credit to be dangerous, illegal, and perhaps treasonable. Neither has anything gone farther to ruin the nation than their boasted credit. For my own part, when I saw this false credit sink upon the change of the ministry, I was singular enough to conceive it a good omen. It seemed as if the young extravagant heir had got a new steward, and was resolved to look into his estate before things grew desperate, which made the usurers forbear feeding him with money as they used to do.

Since the monied men are so fond of war, I should be glad they would furnish out one campaign at their own charge; it is not above six or seven millions; and I dare engage to make it out, that when they have done this, instead of contributing equal to the landed men, they will have their full principal and interest at six per cent. remaining, of all the money they ever lent to the government.

Without this resource, or some other equally miraculous, it is impossible for us to continue the

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"Yet reason frowns on war's unequal game,
Where wasted nations raise a single name,
And mortgaged states their grandsires' wreaths regret,
From age to age in everlasting debt;
Wreaths which at last the dear-bought right convey,
To rust on medals, or on stones decay."

S. JOHNSON'S *Vanity of Human Wishes.*

war upon the same foot. I have already observed, that the last funds of interest fell short above a million, although the persons most conversant in ways and means employed their utmost invention; so that of necessity we must be still more defective next campaign. But perhaps our allies will make up this deficiency on our side, by great efforts on their own. Quite the contrary; both the emperor and Holland failed this year in several articles; and signified to us some time ago, that they cannot keep up to the same proportions in the next. We have gained a noble barrier for the latter, and they have nothing more to demand or desire. The emperor, however sanguine he may now affect to appear, will, I suppose, be satisfied with Naples, Sicily, and Milan, and his other acquisitions, rather than engage in a long hopeless war, for the recovery of Spain, to which his allies the Dutch will neither give their assistance nor consent. So that, since we have done their business, since they have no farther service for our arms, and we have no more money to give them; and lastly, since we neither desire any recompence, nor expect any thanks, we ought in pity to be dismissed, and have leave to shift for ourselves. They are ripe for a peace, to enjoy and cultivate what we have conquered for them; and so are we to recover, if possible, the effects of their hardships upon us. The first overtures from France are made to England upon safe and honourable terms; we who bore the burden of the war, ought in reason to have the greatest share in making the peace. If we do not hearken to a peace, others certainly will, and get the advantage of us there, as they have done in the war. We know the Dutch have perpetually threatened us, that they would enter into separate measures of a peace; and by the strength of that argument, as well as by other

powerful motives, prevailed on those who were then at the helm, to comply with them on any terms, rather than put an end to a war, which every year brought them such great accessions to their wealth and power. Whoever falls off, a peace will follow; and then we must be content with such conditions as our allies, out of their great concern for our safety and interest, will please to choose. They have no farther occasion for fighting, they have gained their point, and they now tell us it is our war; so that, in common justice, it ought to be our peace.

All we can propose by the desperate steps of pawning our land or malt tax, or erecting a general excise, is only to raise a fund of interest for running us annually four millions farther in debt, without any prospect of ending the war so well as we can do at present. And when we have sunk the only unengaged revenues we had left, our incumbrances must of necessity remain perpetual.

We have hitherto lived upon expedients, which, in time, will certainly destroy any constitution, whether civil or natural; and there was no country in Christendom had less occasion for them than ours. We have dieted a healthy body into a consumption, by plying it with physic instead of food. Art will help us no longer, and if we cannot recover by letting the remains of nature work, we must inevitably die.

What arts have been used to possess the people with a strong delusion, that Britain must infallibly be ruined, without the recovery of Spain to the House of Austria! making the safety of a great and powerful kingdom, as ours was then, to depend upon an event, which, after a war of miraculous successes, proves impracticable. As if princes and great ministers could find no way of settling the public tranquillity, without changing the possessions of kingdoms,

and forcing sovereigns upon a people against their inclinations. Is there no security for the Island of Britain, unless a King of Spain be dethroned by the hands of his grandfather? Has the enemy no cautionary towns and sea-ports to give us for securing trade? Can he not deliver us possession of such places as would put him in a worse condition, whenever he should perfidiously renew the war? The present King of France has but few years to live by the course of nature, and doubtless would desire to end his days in peace. Grandfathers, in private families, are not observed to have great influence on their grandsons; and I believe they have much less among princes; however, when the authority of a parent is gone, is it likely that Philip will be directed by a brother, against his own interest, and that of his subjects? Have not those two realms their separate maxims of policy, which must operate in the times of peace? These, at least, are probabilities, and cheaper at least by six millions a-year than recovering Spain, or continuing the war, both which seem absolutely impossible.

But the common question is, if we must now surrender Spain, what have we been fighting for all this while? The answer is ready: we have been fighting for the ruin of the public interest, and the advancement of a private. We have been fighting to raise the wealth and grandeur of a particular family; to enrich usurers and stockjobbers, and to cultivate the pernicious designs of a faction, by destroying the landed interest. The nation begins now to think these blessings are not worth fighting for any longer, and therefore desires a peace.

But the advocates on the other side cry out, that we might have had a better peace, than is now in agitation, above two years ago. Supposing this to be true, I do assert, that, by parity of reason, we

must expect one just so much the worse about two years hence. If those in power could then have given us a better peace, more is their infamy and guilt that they did it not. Why did they insist upon conditions, which they were certain would never be granted? We allow, it was in their power to have put a good end to the war, and left the nation in some hope of recovering itself. And this is what we charge them with, as answerable to God, their country, and posterity; that the bleeding condition of their fellow subjects was a feather in the balance with their private ends.

When we offer to lament the heavy debts and poverty of the nation, it is pleasant to hear some men answer all that can be said, by crying up the power of England, the courage of England, the inexhaustible riches of England. I have heard a man* very sanguine upon this subject, with a good employment for life, and a hundred thousand pounds in the funds, bidding us take courage, and warranting that all would go well. This is the style of men at ease, who lay heavy burdens upon others, which they would not touch with one of their fingers. I have known some people such ill computers, as to imagine the many millions in stocks and annuities are so much real wealth in the nation; whereas every farthing of it is entirely lost to us, scattered in Holland, Germany, and Spain; and the landed men, who now pay the interest, must at last pay the principal.†

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* The Lord Halifax.

† This seems to refer to an argument used by a writer of the opposite party. "The effect of the taxes is the produce of a new and a very considerable estate to the people; I mean, the public funds: These afford a much larger interest for money, and much better security for principal, than formerly could be had. And at the same time, the great variety of securities afford purchase to all degrees of buyers, from a ten pound lottery ticket, to a ten

Fourthly, Those who are against any peace without Spain have, I doubt, been ill informed as to the low condition of France, and the mighty consequences of our successes. As to the first, it must be confessed, that after the battle of Ramillies, the French were so discouraged with their frequent losses, and so impatient for a peace, that their king was resolved to comply upon any reasonable terms. But, when his subjects were informed of our exorbitant demands, they grew jealous of his honour, and were unanimous to assist him in continuing the war at any hazard, rather than submit. This fully restored his authority; and the supplies he has received from the Spanish West Indies, which in all are computed since the war to amount to four hundred millions of livres, and all in specie, have enabled him to pay his troops. Besides, the money is spent in his own country; and he has since waged

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thousand pound stock in the South Sea trade, East India trade, Bank, Annuities, &c. And herein the security is not only better, but the interest higher, than can be had in private hands; six *per cent.* is given by the state, and the occasions of sellers will generally give room so to purchase as to make seven or more *per cent. per annum.* Whereby it is in the power of every man that pays taxes to refund himself by the extraordinary interest he may make of a small sum of money, in putting it into the funds. And moreover, the honest industrious man, who, having acquired a little money, more than his occasions in the way of business call for, is willing to make a little advantage of it for the benefit of his children, has now no longer need of going in quest of security, or courting a rich man to give him five *per cent.* interest; he has now an indubitable security, for the whole nation is bound for it; and larger interest than he could ever before have safely made. In this article, the people gain almost four hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, for so much the over interest amounts to; and is apparently an additional estate given to industrious men. And it must be observed further, that this is as much as all the dead unrefundable taxes amount to; I mean coals, candles, windows, salt, &c." —*The Taxes not grievous, and therefore not a reason for an unsafe Peace.*

war in the most thrifty manner, by acting on the defensive: compounding with us every campaign for a town, which costs us fifty times more than it is worth, either as to the value or the consequences. Then he is at no charge for a fleet, farther than providing privateers, wherewith his subjects carry on a piratical war at their own expence, and he shares in the profit; which has been very considerable to France, and of infinite disadvantage to us, not only by the perpetual losses we have suffered, to an immense value, but by the general discouragement of trade, on which we so much depend. All this considered, with the circumstances of that government, where the prince is master of the lives and fortunes of so mighty a kingdom,' shows that monarch not to be so sunk in his affairs as we have imagined, and have long flattered ourselves with the hopes of.

Those who are against any peace without Spain seem likewise to have been mistaken in judging our victories, and other successes, to have been o greater consequence than they really were.

When our armies take a town in Flanders, the Dutch are immediately put into possession, and we at home make bonfires. I have sometimes pitied the deluded people, to see them squandering away their fuel to so little purpose. For example: what is it to us that Bouchain is taken, about which the warlike politicians of the coffeehouse make such a clutter? What though the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and in sight of the enemy? We are not now in a condition to be fed with points of honour. What advantage have we, but that of spending three or four millions more to get another town for the States, which may open them a new country for contributions, and increase the perquisites of the general?

In that war of ten years under the late king, when our commanders and soldiers were raw and unexperienced, in comparison of what they are at present, we lost battles and towns, as well as we gained them of late, since those gentlemen have better learned their trade; yet we bore up then, as the French do now: nor was there anything decisive in their successes: they grew weary as well as we, and at last consented to a peace, under which we might have been happy enough, if it had not been followed by that wise treaty of partition, which revived the flame that has lasted ever since. I see nothing else in the modern way of making war, but that the side which can hold out longest will end it with most advantage. In such a close country as Flanders, where it is carried on by sieges, the army that acts offensively is at a much greater expence of men and money; and there is hardly a town taken, in the common forms, where the besiegers have not the worst of the bargain. I never yet knew a soldier, who would not affirm, that any town might be taken, if you were content to be at the charge. If you will count upon sacrificing so much blood and treasure, the rest is all a regular, established method, which cannot fail. When the King of France, in the times of his grandeur, sat down before a town, his generals and engineers would often fix the day when it should surrender: the enemy, sensible of all this, has for some years past avoided a battle, where he has so ill succeeded, and taken a surer way to consume us, by letting our courage evaporate against stones and rubbish, and sacrificing a single town to a campaign, which he can so much better afford to lose than we to take.

Lastly, Those who are so violently against any peace without Spain's being restored to the House

of Austria have not, I believe, cast their eye upon a cloud gathering in the north, which we have helped to raise, and may quickly break in a storm upon our heads.

The northern war has been on foot almost ever since our breach with France. The success of it is various; but one effect to be apprehended was always the same, that sooner or later it would involve us in its consequences; and that whenever this happened, let our success be never so great against France, from that moment France would have the advantage.

By our guaranty of the treaty of Travendall, we were obliged to hinder the King of Denmark from engaging in a war with Sweden. It was at that time understood by all parties, and so declared even by the British ministers, that this engagement specially regarded Denmark's not assisting King Augustus. But however, if this had not been so, yet our obligation to Sweden stood in force by virtue of former treaties with that crown, which were all revived and confirmed by a subsequent one concluded at the Hague by Sir Joseph Williamson and Monsieur Lilienroot, about the latter end of the king's reign.

However, the war in the north proceeded; and our not assisting Sweden was at least as well excused by the war which we were entangled in, as his not contributing his contingent to the empire, whereof he is a member, was excused by the pressures he lay under, having a confederacy to deal with.

In this war the King of Sweden was victorious; and what dangers were we not then exposed to? What fears were we not in? He marched into Saxony; and, if he had really been in the French

interest, might at once have put us under the greatest difficulties. But the torrent turned another way, and he contented himself with imposing on his enemy the treaty of Alt Rastadt; by which, King Augustus makes an absolute cession of the crown of Poland, renounces any title to it, acknowledges Stanislaus; and then both he and the King of Sweden join in desiring the guaranty of England and Holland. The queen did not, indeed, give this guaranty in form; but, as a step toward it, the title of King was given to Stanislaus by a letter from her majesty; and the strongest assurances were given to the Swedish minister, in her majesty's name, and in a committee of council, that the guaranty should speedily be granted; and that, in the meanwhile, it was the same thing as if the forms were passed.

In 1708, King Augustus made the campaign in Flanders: what measures he might at that time take, or of what nature the arguments might be that he made use of, is not known: but immediately after, he breaks through all he had done, marches into Poland, and reassumes the crown.

After this we apprehended that the peace of the empire might be endangered; and therefore entered into an act of guaranty for the neutrality of it. The King of Sweden refused, upon several accounts, to submit to the terms of this treaty; particularly because we went out of the empire to cover Poland and Jutland, but did not go out of it to cover the territories of Sweden.

Let us therefore consider what is our case at present. If the King of Sweden return, and get the better, he will think himself under no obligation of having any regard to the interests of the allies;

but will naturally pursue, according to his own expression, his enemy wherever he finds him. In this case, the corps of the neutrality is obliged to oppose him; and so we are engaged in a second war, before the first is ended.

If the northern confederates succeed against Sweden, how shall we be able to preserve the balance of power in the north, so essential to our trade, as well as in many other respects? What will become of that great support of the Protestant interest in Germany, which is the footing that the Swedes now have in the empire? Or who shall answer, that these princes, after they have settled the north to their minds, may not take a fancy to look southward, and make our peace with France according to their own schemes?

And lastly, if the King of Prussia, the Elector of Hanover, and other princes whose dominions lie contiguous, are forced to draw from those armies which act against France, we must live in hourly expectation of having those troops recalled, which they now leave with us; and this recall may happen in the midst of a siege, or on the eve of a battle. Is it therefore our interest to toil on in a ruinous war, for an impracticable end, till one of these cases shall happen, or get under shelter before the storm?

There is no doubt but the present ministry (provided they could get over the obligations of honour and conscience) might find their advantage in advising the continuance of the war, as well as the last did, although not in the same degree, after the kingdom has been so much exhausted. They might prolong it, till the parliament desire a peace; and in the meantime leave them in full possession of power. Therefore it is plain, that their proceed-

ings at present are meant to serve their country, directly against their private interest; whatever clamour may be raised by those, who, for the vilest ends, would move heaven and earth to oppose their measures. But they think it infinitely better to accept such terms as will secure our trade, find a sufficient barrier for the States, give reasonable satisfaction to the emperor, and restore the tranquillity of Europe, although without adding Spain to the empire; rather than go on in a languishing way, upon the vain expectation of some improbable turn for the recovery of that monarchy out of the Bourbon family; and at last be forced to a worse peace, by some of the allies falling off, upon our utter inability to continue the war.

POSTSCRIPT

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

I have in this edition explained three or four lines,* which mention the succession, to take off, if possible, all manner of cavil; though, at the same time, I cannot but observe how ready the adverse party is to make use of any objections, even such as

* The passage alluded to originally bore, that the guarantee of the Dutch might put it out of the power of parliament to change our succession without their consent, "how much soever the necessities of the kingdom may require it." This passage was pronounced by Lord Chief Justice Parker to be capable of bearing a treasonable interpretation.

destroy their own principles. I put a distant case of the possibility, that our succession, through extreme necessity, might be changed by the legislature in future ages; and it is pleasant to hear those people quarrelling at this, who profess themselves for changing it as often as they please, and that even without the consent of the entire legislature.

SOME

REMARKS

ON THE

BARRIER TREATY

BETWEEN

HER MAJESTY

AND

THE STATES-GENERAL;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

THE SAID BARRIER TREATY, WITH THE TWO SEPARATE ARTICLES; PART OF THE COUNTER-PROJECT; THE SENTIMENTS OF PRINCE EUGENE AND COUNT ZINZENDORF UPON THE SAID TREATY; AND A REPRESENTATION OF THE ENGLISH MERCHANTS AT BRUGES.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1712.

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THIS treatise may be considered as a continuation of the Conduct of the Allies. The complaints of the author against the continental alliance in general are here particularly concentrated and fixed upon the Barrier Treaty, which, to say truth, seems, at this distance of time, a most extraordinary production of diplomacy.

PREFACE.

WHEN I published the discourse, called The Conduct of the Allies, I had thoughts either of inserting, or annexing, the Barrier Treaty at length, with such observations as I conceived might be useful for public information; but that discourse taking up more room than I designed, after my utmost endeavours to abbreviate it, I contented myself only with making some few reflections upon that famous treaty, sufficient, as I thought, to answer the design of my book. I have since heard, that my readers in general seemed to wish I had been more particular, and have discovered an impatience to have that treaty made public, especially since it has been laid before the House of Commons.

That I may give some light to the reader who is not well versed in those affairs, he may please to know, that a project for a treaty of barrier with the States was transmitted hither from Holland; but being disapproved of by our court in several parts, a new project, or scheme of a treaty, was drawn up here, with many additions and alterations. This last was called the counter-project, and was the measure whereby the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Townshend were commanded and instructed to proceed in negotiating a treaty of barrier with the States.

I have added a translation of this counter-project in those articles where it differs from the barrier treaty, that the reader, by comparing them together, may judge how punctually those negotiators observed their instructions. I have likewise subjoined the sentiments of Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Count de Zinzendorf, relating to this treaty,

written, I suppose, while it was negotiating. And lastly, I have added a copy of the representation of the British merchants at Bruges, signifying what inconveniences they already felt, and farther apprehended, from this barrier treaty.

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SOME REMARKS, &c.

IMAGINE a reasonable person in China reading the following treaty, and one who was ignorant of our affairs, or our geography, he would conceive their high mightinesses, the States-General, to be some vast powerful commonwealth, like that of Rome, and her majesty to be a petty prince, like one of those to whom that republic would sometimes send a diadem for a present, when they behaved themselves well, otherwise could depose at pleasure, and place whom they thought fit in their stead. Such a man would think, that the States had taken our prince and us into their protection, and, in return, honoured us so far as to make use of our troops as some small assistance in their conquests, and the enlargement of their empire, or to prevent the incursions of barbarians upon some of their out-lying provinces. But how must it sound in a European ear, that Great Britain, after maintaining a war for so many years with so much glory and success, and such prodigious expence; after saving the Empire, Holland, and Portugal, and almost recovering Spain, should, toward the close of a war, enter into a treaty with seven Dutch provinces, to secure to them a dominion

larger than their own, which she had conquered for them; to undertake for a great deal more, without stipulating the least advantage for herself; and accept, as an equivalent, the mean condition of those States assisting to preserve her queen on the throne, whom, by God's assistance, she is able to defend against all her majesty's enemies and allies put together?

Such a wild bargain could never have been made for us, if the States had not found it their interest to use very powerful motives with the chief advisers, (I say nothing of the person immediately employed;) and if a party here at home had not been resolved, for ends and purposes very well known, to continue the war as long as they had any occasion for it.

The counter-project of this treaty, made here at London, was bad enough in all conscience: I have said something of it in the preface; her majesty's ministers were instructed to proceed by it in their negotiation. There was one point in that project, which would have been of consequence to Britain, and one or two more where the advantages of the States were not so very exorbitant, and where some care was taken of the house of Austria. Is it possible, that our good allies and friends could not be brought to any terms with us, unless by striking out every particular that might do us any good, and adding still more to those whereby so much was already granted? For instance, the article about demolishing of Dunkirk surely might have remained, which was of some benefit to the States, as well as of mighty advantage to us, and which the French king has lately yielded in one of his preliminaries, although clogged with the demand of an equivalent, which will owe its difficulty only to this treaty.

But let me now consider the treaty itself: among

the one-and-twenty articles of which it consists, only two have any relation to us, importing that the Dutch are to be guarantees of our succession, and are not to enter into any treaty until the queen is acknowledged by France. We know very well that it is in consequence the interest of the States as much as ours, that Britain should be governed by a Protestant prince. Besides, what is there more in this guaranty than in all common leagues, offensive and defensive, between two powers, where each is obliged to defend the other, against any invader, with all their strength? Such was the grand alliance between the emperor, Britain, and Holland, which was, or ought to have been, as good a guaranty of our succession, to all intents and purposes, as this in the barrier treaty; and the mutual engagements in such alliances have been always reckoned sufficient, without any separate benefit to either party.

It is, no doubt, for the interest of Britain, that the States should have a sufficient barrier against France; but their high mightinesses, for some few years past, have put a different meaning upon the word barrier, from what it formerly used to bear, when applied to them. When the late king was Prince of Orange, and commanded their armies against France, it was never once imagined that any of the towns taken should belong to the Dutch; they were all immediately delivered up to their lawful monarch, and Flanders was only a barrier to Holland, as it was in the hands of Spain, rather than France. So, in the grand alliance of 1701, the several powers promising to endeavour to recover Flanders for a barrier, was understood to be the recovering of those provinces to the King of Spain; but, in this treaty, the style is wholly changed: here are about twenty towns and forts

of great importance, with their chattellanies and dependencies, (which dependencies are likewise to be enlarged as much as possible,) and the whole revenues of them, to be under the perpetual military government of the Dutch, by which that republic will be entirely masters of the richest part of all Flanders, and, upon any appearance of war, they may put their garrisons into any other place of the Low Countries: and farther, the King of Spain is to give them a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a-year, to enable them to maintain those garrisons.

Why should we wonder that the Dutch are inclined to perpetuate the war, when, by an article in this treaty, the King of Spain is not to possess one single town in the Low Countries until a peace be made? The Duke of Anjou, at the beginning of this war, maintained six-and-thirty thousand men out of those Spanish provinces he then possessed, to which, if we add the many towns since taken, which were not in the late King of Spain's possession at the time of his death, with all their territories and dependencies, it is visible what forces the States may be able to keep, even without any charge to their peculiar dominions.

The towns and chattellanies of this barrier always maintained their garrisons when they were in the hands of France; and, as it is reported, returned a considerable sum of money into the king's coffers; yet the King of Spain is obliged, by this treaty, (as we have already observed,) to add, over and above, a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a-year. We know, likewise, that a great part of the revenue of the Spanish Netherlands is already pawned to the States, so that, after a peace, nothing will be left to the sovereign, nor will the people be much eased of the taxes they at present labour under.

Thus the States, by virtue of this barrier treaty, will, in effect, be absolute sovereigns of all Flanders, and of the whole revenues in the utmost extent.

And here I cannot, without some contempt, take notice of a sort of reasoning offered by several people, that the many towns we have taken for the Dutch are of no advantage, because the whole revenue of those towns are spent in maintaining them. For, first, the fact is manifestly false, particularly as to Lisle and some others. Secondly, the States, after a peace, are to have four hundred thousand crowns a-year out of the remainder of Flanders, which is then to be left to Spain. And, lastly, suppose all these acquired dominions will not bring a penny into their treasury, what can be of greater consequence than to be able to maintain a mighty army out of their new conquests, which before they always did by taxing their natural subjects?

How shall we be able to answer it to King Charles III. that, while we pretend to endeavour restoring him to the entire monarchy of Spain, we join, at the same time, with the Dutch to deprive him of his natural right to the Low Countries?

But suppose, by a Dutch barrier, must now be understood only what is to be in possession of the States, yet, even under this acceptation of the word, nothing was originally meant except a barrier against France, whereas several towns, demanded by the Dutch in this treaty, can be of no use at all in such a barrier. And this is the sentiment even of Prince Eugene himself, the present oracle and idol of the party here, who says that Dendermond, Ostend, and the Castle of Gand, do in no sort belong to the barrier, nor can be of other use than to make the States-General masters of the Low Countries, and hinder their trade with England;

and farther, that those who are acquainted with the country know very well, that to fortify Lier and Halle, can give no security to the States as a barrier, but only raise a jealousy in the people, that those places are only fortified in order to block up Brussels, and the other great towns of Brabant.

In those towns of Flanders where the Dutch are to have garrisons, but the ecclesiastical and civil power to remain to the King of Spain after a peace, the States have power to send arms, ammunition, and victuals, without paying customs, under which pretence they will engross the whole trade of those towns, exclusive of all other nations.

This Prince Eugene likewise foresaw; and, in his observations upon this treaty here annexed, proposed a remedy for it.

And if the Dutch shall please to think that the whole Spanish Netherlands are not a sufficient barrier for them, I know no remedy, from the words of this treaty, but that we must still go on and conquer for them as long as they please. For the queen is obliged, whenever a peace is treated, to procure for them whatever shall be thought necessary besides; and where their necessity will terminate, is not very easy to foresee.

Could any of her majesty's subjects conceive, that in the towns we have taken for the Dutch, and given into their possession as a barrier, either the States should demand, or our ministers allow, that the subjects of Britain should, in respect to their trade, be used worse than they were under the late King of Spain? Yet this is the fact, as monstrous as it appears: all goods going to, or coming from, Newport or Ostend, are to pay the same duties as those that pass by the Schelde under the Dutch forts: and this, in effect, is to shut out all other nations from trading to Flanders. The English

merchants at Bruges complain, that, after they have paid the King of Spain's duty for goods imported at Ostend, the same goods are made liable to farther duties, when they are carried thence into the towns of the Dutch new conquests; and desire only the same privileges of trade they had before the death of the late King of Spain, Charles II. And, in consequence of this treaty, the Dutch have already taken off eight per cent. from all goods they send to the Spanish Flanders, but left it still upon us.

But what is very surprising, in the very same article, where our good friends and allies are wholly shutting us out from trading in those towns we have conquered for them with so much blood and treasure, the queen is obliged to procure, that the States shall be used as favourably in their trade over all the King of Spain's dominions as her own subjects, or as the people most favoured. This I humbly conceive to be perfect boys-play: "Cross I win, and pile you lose;" or, "What's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own." Now if it should happen, that in a treaty of peace some ports or towns should be yielded us for the security of our trade, in any part of the Spanish dominions, at how great a distance soever, I suppose the Dutch would go on with their boys-play, and challenge half by virtue of that article: or would they be content with military government and the revenues, and reckon them among what shall be thought necessary for their barrier?

This prodigious article is introduced as subsequent to the treaty of Munster, made about the year 1648, at a time when England was in the utmost confusion, and very much to our disadvantage. Those parts in that treaty, so unjust in themselves, and so prejudicial to our trade, ought, in reason, to have been remitted, rather than con-

firmed upon us, for the time to come. But this is Dutch partnership; to share in all our beneficial bargains, and exclude us wholly from theirs, even from those which we have got for them.

In one part of the Conduct of the Allies, among other remarks upon this treaty, I make it a question, whether it were right, in point of policy or prudence, to call in a foreign power to be a guarantee to our succession; because by that means we put it out of the power of our legislature to alter the succession, how much soever the necessity of the kingdom may require it? To comply with the cautions of some people, I explained my meaning in the following editions. I was assured, that my lord chief justice affirmed that passage was treason.* One of my answerers, I think, decides

* A Tory Pamphleteer, in a letter addressed to the author of the Remarks on the Barrier Treaty, thus enlarges upon the subject. "And I must own, that this part of the treaty is still more shocking, when I consider we have a chief justice upon the bench, who gives it as his opinion, that 'tis high treason to say the succession, as it is now settled, is not upon any account alterable, even by the power that first made it. For if this opinion were good law, and this treaty good politics, what mischief might they not, the one being supported by the other, bring upon us? For though nothing can be feared from the wisdom and goodness of our immediate successors, the Princess Sophia, or the present Elector, nor the sons of his Electoral Highness; yet suppose God Almighty should afflict the House of Hanover with such a mortality, or a greater than he has lately done the royal family of France, and the remaining branch of that house, that may be the next in succession at the time of the queen's death (whom God long preserve to be a certain blessing unto us) should be a person, either utterly incapable of government, as an idiot, or very unfit for government, as an infant of a year or two old; when either the unsettled condition of Europe, or the very well-being of Britain, may absolutely require both an active and experienced prince to be at the head of it: Or, suppose he should be an utter bigot to the present religion of the family; which, though they are Protestants, are not yet of the religion of the Church of Eng-

as favourably; and I am told that paragraph was read very lately during a debate, with a comment in very injurious terms, which perhaps might have been spared. That the legislature should have power to change the succession, whenever the necessities of the kingdom require, is so very useful toward preserving our religion and liberty, that I know not how to recant. The worst of this opinion is, that at first sight it appears to be whiggish; but

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land, but Lutherans; I say, suppose he should be such a bigot to his religion, as to think himself as indispensably bound to introduce consubstantiation for a point of faith, as King James did transubstantiation: Or, as all the princes of Germany are absolute in their dominions, if any future prince of that line should have shown himself to be an absolute tyrant at home, before the crown of Britain should come to devolve upon him; are we indispensably obliged to accept of a child, an infant, a bigot to Lutheranism, or a tyrant, if God Almighty should afflict such a judgment on that family and this nation, as to suffer the next of that line that may be, when the queen shall happen to die. to be one of them? Shall the Dutch have the power of enforcing us to accept of such a king, which would infallibly be utter ruin and destruction to us, and, of consequence, a mighty advantage to them, both in regard to trade and everything else? These are possibilities which might happen to us, were the politics or the law of the late ministry infallible. But, thanks be to God, we are not now implicitly obliged to obey either. As to the first, I hope it will be entirely reversed; and, as to the other, if the chief justice will give himself the trouble to peruse the statute of the 4th of the queen, cap. the 8th, I believe he will find himself more guilty of high treason, should he give that opinion under his hand, which you say he has ventured to pronounce. For it is by that statute enacted, 'That if any person, by writing or printing, should affirm, that the Kings or Queens of England, by the authority of Parliament, cannot make laws to limit or bind the crown, and the descent and government thereof, every such person shall be guilty of high treason;' and how he can construe that to extend only to the making new limitations, and not be applicable to the altering any that are already made, he best knows, and had best take care."—*Remarks on the Letters between the Lord T—nd and Mr. Se—tary B—le.* Lond. 1712, p. 18, *et seq.*

the distinction is thus: the Whigs are for changing the succession when they think fit, although the entire legislature do not consent; I think it ought never to be done but upon great necessity, and that with the sanction of the whole legislature. Do these gentlemen of revolution principles think it impossible, that we should ever have occasion again to change our succession? and if such an accident should fall out, must we have no remedy until the Seven Provinces will give their consent? Suppose that this virulent party among us were as able, as some are willing, to raise a rebellion for reinstating them in power, and would apply themselves to the Dutch, as guarantees of our succession, to assist them with all their force, under pretence that the queen and ministry, a great majority of both houses, and the bulk of the people, were for bringing over France, Popery, and the Pretender? Their high mightinesses would, as I take it, be sole judges of the controversy, and probably decide it so well, that in some time we might have the happiness of becoming a province to Holland. I am humbly of opinion, that there are two qualities necessary to a reader, before his judgment should be allowed; these are, common honesty and common sense; and that no man could have misrepresented that paragraph in my discourse, unless he were utterly destitute of one or both.

The presumptive successor, and her immediate heirs, have so established a reputation in the world, for their piety, wisdom, and humanity, that no necessity of this kind is likely to appear in their days; but I must still insist, that it is a diminution to the independency of the imperial crown of Great Britain, to call at every door for help to put our laws in execution. And we ought to consider, that if in ages to come such a prince should happen

to be in succession to our throne, as should be entirely unable to govern; that very motive might incline our guarantees to support him, the more effectually to bring the rivals of their trade into confusion and disorder.

But to return: the queen is here put under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee of the whole barrier treaty; of the Dutch having possession of the said barrier, and the revenues thereof, before a peace; of the payment of four hundred thousand crowns by the King of Spain; that the States shall possess their barrier, even before King Charles is in possession of the Spanish Netherlands; although, by the fifth article of the grand alliance, her majesty is under no obligation to do anything of this nature, except in a general treaty.

All kings, princes, and states, are invited to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution. This article, though very frequent in treaties, seems to look very oddly in that of the barrier. Popish princes are here invited, among others, to become guarantees of our Protestant succession: every petty prince in Germany must be entreated to preserve the Queen of Great Britain upon her throne. The King of Spain is invited particularly, and by name, to become guarantee of the execution of a treaty, by which his allies, who pretend to fight his battles, and recover his dominions, strip him in effect of all his ten provinces; a clear reason why they never sent any forces to Spain, and why the obligation, not to enter into a treaty of peace with France, until that entire monarchy was yielded as a preliminary, was struck out of the counter-project by the Dutch. They fought only in Flanders, because there they only fought for themselves. King Charles must needs accept this invitation very kindly, and stand with great satisfaction, while

the Belgic lion divides the prey, and assigns it all to himself. I remember there was a parcel of soldiers, who robbed a farmer of his poultry, and then made him wait at table, while they devoured his victuals, without giving him a morsel; and upon his expostulating, had only for answer, "Why, sirrah, are we not come here to protect you?" And thus much for this generous invitation to all kings and princes to lend their assistance, and become guarantees, out of pure good nature, for securing Flanders to the Dutch.

In the treaty of Ryswick no care was taken to oblige the French king to acknowledge the right of succession in her present majesty; for want of which point being then settled, France refused to acknowledge her for Queen of Great Britain after the late king's death. This unaccountable neglect (if it were a neglect) is here called an omission,* and care is taken to supply it in the next general treaty of peace. I mention this occasionally, because I have some stubborn doubts within me, whether it were a wilful omission or not. Neither do I herein reflect in the least upon the memory of his late majesty, whom I entirely acquit of any imputation upon this matter. But when I recollect the behaviour, the language, and the principles of some certain persons in those days, and compare them with that omission; I am tempted to draw some conclusions, which a certain party would be more ready to call false and malicious, than to prove them so.

I must here take leave, (because it will not otherwise fall in my way,) to say a few words in return to a gentleman, I know not of what character or calling, who has done me the honour to write three

* Article XX.

discourses against that treatise of The Conduct of the Allies, &c., and promises, for my comfort, to conclude all in a fourth. I pity answerers with all my heart, for the many disadvantages they lie under. My book did a world of mischief, (as he calls it,) before his First Part could possibly come out; and so went on through the kingdom, while his limped slowly after; and if it arrived at all, was too late; for people's opinions were already fixed.* His manner of answering me is thus: Of those facts which he pretends to examine, some he resolutely denies, others he endeavours to extenuate; and the rest he distorts with such unnatural terms, that I would engage, by the same method, to disprove any history, either ancient or modern. Then the whole is interlarded with a thousand injurious epithets and appellations, which heavy writers are forced to make use of, as a supply for that want of spirit and genius they are not born to: yet after all, he allows a very great point for which I contend, confessing, in plain words, that the burden of the war has chiefly lain upon us; and thinks it sufficient for the Dutch, that, next to England, they have borne the greatest share. And is not this the great grievance of which the whole kingdom complains? I am inclined to think, that my intelligence was at least as good as his; and some of it,

* Dr. Hare, in the Fourth Part of his Defence of the Allies, and late Administration, thus notices the passage in the text: "Falsehood on the wings of power moves swift, and spreads apace, but in the nature of it is short-lived, and dies soon; while truth, to use this author's words, limps but slowly after; but where it is received, its impressions last: and though it may, perhaps, as he says, arrive too late, arrive it will; and sooner or later we shall all see, that the scheme of this author and his friends is as contrary to our welfare and common safety, as the methods taken to support it are to truth and common honesty." —*The Allies and the late Ministry defended*, Part IV. p. 84.

I can assure him, came from persons of his own party, although, perhaps, not altogether so inflamed. Hitherto, therefore, the matter is pretty equal, and the world may believe him or me as they please. But I think the great point of controversy between us is, whether the effects and consequences of things follow better from his premises or mine? And there I will not be satisfied unless he will allow the whole advantage to be on my side. Here is a flourishing kingdom brought to the brink of ruin by a most successful and glorious war of ten years, under an able, diligent, and loyal ministry, a most faithful, just, and generous commander, and in conjunction with the most hearty, reasonable, and sincere allies. This is the case, as that author represents it. I have heard a story, I think it was of the Duke of ***, who, playing at hazard at the groom-porter's in much company, held in a great many hands together, and drew a huge heap of gold; but, in the heat of play, never observed a sharper, who came once or twice under his arm, and swept a great deal of it into his hat; the company thought it had been one of his servants. When the duke's hand was out, they were talking how much he had won. "Yes," said he, "I held in very long; yet methinks I have won but very little." They told him his servant had got the rest in his hat; and then he found he was cheated.

It has been my good fortune to see the most important facts that I have advanced justified by the public voice; which, let this author do what he can, will incline the world to believe that I may be right in the rest. And I solemnly declare, that I have not wilfully committed the least mistake. I stopped the second edition, and made all possible inquiries among those who I thought could best inform me, in order to correct any error I could

hear of; I did the same to the third and fourth editions, and then left the printer to his liberty. This I take for a more effectual answer to all cavils, than a hundred pages of controversy.

But what disgusts me from having anything to do with the race of answer-jobbers is, that they have no sort of conscience in their dealings: to give one instance in this gentleman's Third Part, which I have been lately looking into. When I talk of the most petty princes, he says that I mean crowned heads; when I say the soldiers of those petty princes are ready to rob or starve at home, he says I call kings and crowned heads robbers and highwaymen. This is what the Whigs call answering a book.*

* Nothing seems to have incensed Dr. Hare more than the passage alluded to in The Conduct of the Allies. "Here," he exclaims, "here is a general character of all the princes to whom we pay subsidies. Is this language fit for sovereign princes; for estates and crowned heads? Are ten or a dozen princes to be branded with such words of infamy at once? Should not the Elector of Hanover, at least, be in decency excepted from the common herd? And shall it be permitted to an insolent scribbler, to treat, in this licentious manner, princes who are our friends, in the same interest with us, and two of the same religion? For under this character of petty princes are included, and indeed principally intended, the Kings of Denmark, Prussia, and Poland. These are some of the princes, who, we are told, must do that, the sound of which the meanest man of common honesty abhors, —rob or starve, if it were not for subsidies. If this author be in the secret, what must we think of our alliances? For this is the language of an enemy: 'tis the language which a generous enemy would scorn to use. I can't but think from many passages in this book, and this among others, that the writer of it is at bottom an enemy to everything an Englishman has a value for; to our trade, to our succession, to our religion, to all alliances that are for our security, to everything that interferes with the interest of France, to faith, honesty, and good manners; else so many things could not fall from him, that are not consistent with any other character."—*The Allies and the late Ministry defended*, Part III. p. 53, *et seq.*

I cannot omit one particular concerning this author, who is so positive in asserting his own facts, and contradicting mine; he affirms, that the business of Toulon was discovered by the clerk of a certain great man, who was then secretary of state.* It is neither wise, nor for the credit of his party, to put us in mind of that secretary, or of that clerk; however, so it happens, that nothing relating to the affair of Toulon did ever pass through that secretary's office: which I here affirm with great phlegm, leaving the epithets of false, scandalous, villanous, and the rest, to the author and his fellows.

But to leave this author; let us consider the consequence of our triumphs, upon which some set so great a value, as to think that nothing less than the crown can be a sufficient reward for the merit of the general. We have not enlarged our dominions by one foot of land; our trade, which made us considerable in the world, is either given up by treaties, or clogged with duties, which interrupt and daily lessen it. We see the whole nation groaning under excessive taxes of all sorts, to raise three millions of money for payment of the interest of those debts we have contracted. Let us look upon the reverse of the medal; we shall see our neighbours, who, in their utmost distress, called for our assistance, become by this treaty, even in time of peace, masters of a more considerable country than their own; in a condition to strike terror into us, with fifty thousand veterans ready to invade us from that country, which we have conquered for them; and to commit insolent hostilities upon us in all other parts, as they have lately done in the East Indies.

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* Alluding to the affair of Gregg.

The Barrier Treaty between her Majesty and the States General.

HER majesty the Queen of Great Britain and the lords the States General of the United Provinces, having considered how much it concerns the quiet and security of their kingdoms and states, and the public tranquillity, to maintain and to secure on one side, the succession to the crown of Great Britain in such manner as it is now established by the laws of the kingdom; and on the other side, that the States General of the United Provinces should have a strong and sufficient barrier against France and others who would surprise or attack them: and her majesty and the said States General apprehending, with just reason, the troubles and the mischiefs which may happen in relation to this succession, if at any time there should be any person, or any power, who should call it in question; and that the countries and states of the said lords the States General were not furnished with such a barrier. For these said reasons, her said majesty the Queen of Great Britain, although in the vigour of her age, and enjoying perfect health, (in which may God preserve her many years), out of an effect of her usual prudence and piety, has thought fit to enter with the lords the States General of the United Provinces into a particular alliance and confederacy; the principal end and only aim of which shall be the public quiet and tranquillity; and to prevent, by measures taken in time, all the events which might one day excite new wars. It is with this view, that her British majesty has given her full power to agree upon some articles of a treaty, in addition to the treaties and alliances that she hath already with the

lords the States General of the United Provinces, to her ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, Charles Viscount Townshend, Baron of Lynn-Regis, privy counsellor of her British majesty, captain of her said majesty's yeomen of the guard, and her lieutenant in the county of Norfolk; and the lords the States General of the United Provinces, to the Sieurs John de Weldern, Lord of Valburg, great bailiff of the Lower Betewe, of the body of the nobility of the province of Guelder; Frederick, Baron of Reede, Lord of Lier, St. Anthony, and T'er Lee, of the order of the nobility of the province of Holland and West Friesland; Anthony Heinsius, counsellor-pensionary of the province of Holland and West Friesland, keeper of the great seal, and superintendent of the fiefs of the same province; Cornelius Van Gheel, Lord of Spranbrook, Bulkesteyn, &c.; Gedeon Hoeuft, canon of the chapter of the church of St. Peter at Utrecht, and elected counsellor in the states of the province of Utrecht; Hassel Van Sminia, secretary of the chamber of the accounts of the province of Friesland; Ernest Ittersum, Lord of Osterbof, of the body of the nobility of the province of Overyssel; and Wicher Wichers, senator of the city of Groningen; all deputies to the assembly of the said lords of the States General on the part respectively of the provinces of Guelder, Holland, West Friesland, Zeland, Utrecht, Friesland, Overyssel, and Groningen, and Ommelands, who, by virtue of their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

The treaties of peace, friendship, alliance, and confederacy, between her Britannic majesty and the States General of the United Provinces, shall be approved and confirmed by the present treaty, and shall remain in their former force and vigour, as if they were inserted word for word.

ARTICLE II.

The succession to the crown of England having been settled by an act of parliament passed the twelfth year of the reign of his late majesty King William III., the title of which is, "An act for the farther limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject;" and lately, in the sixth year of the reign of her present majesty, the succession having been again established and confirmed by another act made for the greater security of her majesty's person and government, and the succession to the crown of Great Britain, &c., in the line of the most serene House of Hanover, and in the person of the Princess Sophia, and of her heirs and successors, and descendants, male and female, already born or to be born; and although no power hath any right to oppose the laws made upon this subject by the crown and parliament of Great Britain; if it shall happen nevertheless, that, under any pretence, or by any cause whatever, any person, or any power or state, may pretend to dispute the establishment which the parliament hath made of the aforesaid succession in the most serene House of Hanover, to oppose the said succession, to assist or favour those who may oppose it, whether directly or indirectly, by open war, or by fomenting

seditions and conspiracies against her or him to whom the crown of Great Britain shall descend, according to the acts aforesaid; the States General engage and promise to assist and maintain in the said succession her or him to whom it shall belong by virtue of the said acts of parliament, to assist them in taking possession, if they should not be in actual possession, and to oppose those who would disturb them in the taking of such possession, or in the actual possession, of the aforesaid succession.

ARTICLE III.

Her said majesty and the States General, in consequence of the fifth article of the alliance concluded between the emperor, the late King of Great Britain, and the States General, the 7th of September 1701, will employ all their force to recover the rest of the Spanish Low Countries.

ARTICLE IV.

And farther, they will endeavour to conquer as many towns and forts as they can, in order to their being a barrier and security to the said States.

ARTICLE V.

And, whereas, according to the ninth article of the said alliance, it is to be agreed, among other matters, how and in what manner the States shall be made safe by means of this barrier, the Queen of Great Britain will use her endeavours to procure that in the treaty of peace it may be agreed, that all the Spanish Low Countries, and what else may be found necessary, whether conquered or unconquered places, shall serve as a barrier to the States.

ARTICLE VI.

That to this end their high mightinesses shall have the liberty to put and keep garrison, to change, augment, and diminish it as they shall judge proper, in the places following: namely, Newport, Furnes, with the fort of Knocke, Ypres, Menin, the town and citadel of Lisle, Tournay and its citadel, Conde, Valenciennes; and the places which shall from henceforward be conquered from France, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Namur and its citadel, Lier, Halle, to fortify, the ports off Perle, Philippe, Damme, the castle of Gand, and Dendermonde. The fort of St. Donas, being joined to the fortification of the Sluce, and being entirely incorporated with it, shall remain and be yielded in property to the States. The fort of Rhodenhuysen on this side Gand shall be demolished.

ARTICLE VII.

The States General may, in case of an apparent attack or war, put as many troops as they shall think necessary in all the towns, places, and forts in the Spanish Low Countries, where the reason of war shall require it.

ARTICLE VIII.

They may likewise send into the towns, forts, and places, where they shall have their garrisons, without any hinderance, and without paying any duties, provisions, ammunitions of war, arms, and artillery, materials for the fortifications, and all that shall be found convenient and necessary for the said garrisons and fortifications.

ARTICLE IX.

The said States General shall also have liberty to appoint, in the towns, forts, and places of their barrier, mentioned in the foregoing sixth article, where they may have garrisons, such governors and commanders, majors, and other officers, as they shall find proper, who shall not be subject to any other orders, whatsoever they be, or from whencesoever they may come, relating to the security and military government of the said places, but only to those of their high mightinesses, (exclusive of all others;) still preserving the rights and privileges, as well ecclesiastical as political, of King Charles the Third.

ARTICLE X.

That besides, the States shall have liberty to fortify the said towns, places, and forts which belong to them, and repair the fortifications of them in such manner as they shall judge necessary; and farther to do whatever shall be useful for their defence.

ARTICLE XI.

It is agreed, that the States General shall have all the revenues of the towns, places, jurisdictions, and their dependencies, which they shall have for their barrier from France, which were not in the possession of the crown of Spain at the time of the death of the late King Charles II.; and, besides, a million of livres shall be settled for the payment of one hundred thousand crowns every three months, out of the clearest revenues of the Spanish Low Countries, which the said king was

then in possession of; both which are for maintaining the garrisons of the States, and for supplying the fortifications, as also the magazines, and other necessary expences in the towns and places above mentioned. And, that the said revenues may be sufficient to support these expences, endeavours shall be used for enlarging the dependencies and jurisdictions aforesaid as much as possible; and particularly, for including, with the jurisdiction of Ypres, that of Cassel, and the forest of Niepe; and with the jurisdiction of Lisle, the jurisdiction of Douay, both having been so joined before the present war.

ARTICLE XII.

That no town, fort, place, or country of the Spanish Low Countries, shall be granted, transferred, or given, or descend to the crown of France, or any one of the line of France, neither by virtue of any gift, sale, exchange, marriage, agreement, inheritance, succession by will, or through want of will, from no title whatsoever, nor in any other manner whatsoever, nor be put into the power, or under the authority, of the Most Christian King, or any one of the line of France.

ARTICLE XIII.

And whereas the said States General, in consequence of the ninth article of the said alliance, are to make a convention or treaty with King Charles the Third, for putting the States in a condition of safety by means of the said barrier, the Queen of Great Britain will do what depends upon her, that all the foregoing particulars relating to the barrier of the States may be inserted in the aforesaid treaty

or convention; and that her said majesty will continue her good offices, until the above-mentioned convention between the States and the said King Charles the Third be concluded agreeably to what is before-mentioned; and that her majesty will be guarantee of the said treaty or convention.

ARTICLE XIV.

And that the said States may enjoy from henceforward, as much as possible, a barrier for the Spanish Low Countries, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the towns already taken, and which may hereafter be so, before the peace be concluded and ratified. And in the meantime, the said King Charles III. shall not be allowed to enter into possession of the said Spanish Low Countries, neither entirely nor in part: and during that time the queen shall assist their high mightinesses to maintain them in the enjoyment of the revenues, and to find the million of livres a year above-mentioned.

ARTICLE XV.

And whereas their high mightinesses have stipulated by the treaty of Munster, in the fourteenth article, that the river Schelde, as also the canals of Sas, Swyn, and other mouths of the sea bordering thereupon, should be kept shut on the side of the States:

And in the fifteenth article, that the ships and commodities going in and coming out of the harbours of Flanders shall be and remain charged with all such imposts, and other duties, as are raised upon commodities going and coming along the Schelde, and the other canals above-mentioned:

The Queen of Great Britain promises and engages, that their high mightinesses shall never be disturbed in their right and possession in that respect, neither directly nor indirectly; as also, that the commerce shall not, in prejudice of the said treaty, be made more easy by the sea-ports, than by the rivers, canals, and mouths of the sea, on the side of the States of the United Provinces neither directly nor indirectly.

And whereas, by the sixteenth and seventeenth articles of the same treaty of Munster, his majesty the King of Spain is obliged to treat the subjects of their high mightinesses as favourably as the subjects of Great Britain and the Hans-towns, who were then the people the most favourably treated; her Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses promise likewise to take care, that the subjects of Great Britain, and of their high mightinesses, shall be treated in the Spanish Low Countries as well as in Spain, the kingdoms and states belonging to it, equally and as well the one as the other, as the people most favoured.

ARTICLE XVI.

The said queen and States General oblige themselves to furnish by sea and land the succours and assistance necessary to maintain by force her said majesty in the quiet possession of her kingdoms; and the most Serene House of Hanover in the said succession, in the manner it is settled by the acts of parliament before-mentioned; and to maintain the said States General in the possession of the said barrier.

ARTICLE XVII.

After the ratifications of the treaty, a particular convention shall be made of the conditions, by which the said queen and the said lords the States General will engage themselves to furnish the succours which shall be thought necessary, as well by sea as by land.

ARTICLE XVIII.

If her British majesty, or the States General of the United Provinces, be attacked by anybody whatsoever by reason of this convention, they shall mutually assist one another with all their forces, and become guarantees of the execution of the said convention.

ARTICLE XIX.

There shall be invited and admitted into the present treaty, as soon as possible, all the kings, princes, and states, who shall be willing to enter into the same, particularly his Imperial Majesty, the Kings of Spain and Prussia, and the Elector of Hanover. And her British majesty and the States General of the United Provinces and each of them in particular, shall be permitted to require and invite those whom they shall think fit to require and invite, to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution.

ARTICLE XX.

And as time has shown the omission which was made in the treaty signed at Ryswick in the year 1697, between England and France, in respect of the right of the succession of England in the person of her majesty the Queen of Great Britain, now reigning; and that, for want of having settled in that treaty this indisputable right of her majesty, France refused to acknowledge her for Queen of Great Britain after the death of the late King William III. of glorious memory: her majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and the lords the States General of the United Provinces, do agree, and engage themselves likewise, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the title of her majesty to the crown of Great Britain, as also the right of succession of the most Serene House of Hanover to the aforesaid crown, in the manner it is settled and established by the before-mentioned acts of parliament, be fully acknowledged as a preliminary by France, and that France has promised at the same time to remove out of its dominions the person who pretends to be King of Great Britain: and that no negotiation or formal discussion of the articles of the said treaty of peace shall be entered into but jointly, and at the same time, with the said queen, or with her ministers.

ARTICLE XXI.

Her British majesty and the lords the States General of the United Provinces shall ratify and confirm all that is contained in the present treaty within the space of four weeks, to be reckoned from the day of the signing. In testimony whereof, the

underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her British majesty, and the deputies of the lords the States General, have signed this present treaty, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, in the year 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.
(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.
(L. S.) A. Heinsius.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) W. Wichers.

The Separate Article.

As in the preliminary articles signed here at the Hague, the 28th of May 1709, by the plenipotentiaries of his imperial majesty, of her majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and of the lords the States General of the United Provinces, it is stipulated, among other things, that the lords the States General shall have, with entire property and sovereignty, the upper quarter of Guelder, according to the fifty-second article of the treaty of Munster of the year 1648; as also, that the garrisons which are, or hereafter shall be, on the part of the lords the States General, in the town of Huy, the citadel of Liege, and the town of Bonne, shall remain there, until it shall be otherwise agreed upon with his imperial majesty and the empire: and as the barrier which is this day agreed upon, in the principal treaty for the mutual guaranty between her British majesty and the lords the States General, cannot

give to the United Provinces the safety for which it is established, unless it be well secured from one end to the other, and that the communication of it be well joined together, for which the upper quarter of Guelder, and the garrisons in the citadel of Liege, Huy, and Bonne, are absolutely necessary: (experience having thrice shown, that France having a design to attack the United Provinces, has made use of the places above mentioned, in order to come at them, and to penetrate into the said provinces.) And farther, as in respect to the equivalent for which the upper quarter of Guelder is to be yielded to the United Provinces, according to the fifty-second article of the treaty of Munster above mentioned, his majesty King Charles III. will be much more gratified and advantaged in other places than that equivalent can avail; to the end therefore, that the lords of the States General may have the upper quarter of Guelder, with entire property and sovereignty; and that the said upper quarter of Guelder may be yielded in this manner to the said lords the States General, in the convention, or the treaty, that they are to make with his majesty King Charles III., according to the thirteenth article of the treaty concluded this day; as also, that their garrisons in the citadel of Liege, in that of Huy, and in Bonne, may remain there, until it be otherwise agreed upon with his imperial majesty and the empire; her majesty the Queen of Great Britain engages herself, and promises by this separate article, which shall have the same force as if it was inserted in the principal treaty, to make the same efforts for all this, as she has engaged herself to make for the obtaining the barrier in the Spanish Low Countries. In testimony whereof, the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her British majesty, and deputies of the lords the States

General, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.
(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.
(L. S.) A. Heinsius.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) W. Wichers.

The Second Separate Article.

As the lords the States General have represented, that in Flanders the limits between Spanish Flanders and that of the States are settled in such a manner, as that the land belonging to the States is extremely narrow there; so that in some places the territory of Spanish Flanders extends itself to the fortifications, and under the cannon of the places, towns, and forts of the States, which occasions many inconveniences, as has been seen by an example a little before the beginning of the present war, when a fort was designed to have been built under the cannon of the Sas Van Gand, under pretence that it was upon the territory of Spain: and as it is necessary, for avoiding these and other sorts of inconveniences, that the lands of the States upon the confines of Flanders should be enlarged, and that the places, towns, and forts, should by that means be better covered; her British majesty, entering into the just motives of the said lords the States General in this respect, promises and engages herself, by this separate article, that in the convention which the

said lords the States General are to make with his majesty King Charles the Third, she will assist them, as that it may be agreed, that by the cession to the said lords the States General of the property of an extent of land necessary to obviate such like and other inconveniences, their limits in Flanders shall be enlarged more conveniently for their security; and those of the Spanish Flanders removed farther from their towns, places, and forts, to the end that these may not be so exposed any more. In testimony whereof, the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her British majesty, and deputies of the lords the States General, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th October 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) A. Heinsius.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.

The ARTICLES of the COUNTER-PROJECT, which were struck out or altered by the Dutch in the Barrier Treaty; with some Remarks.

ARTICLE VI.

To this end their high mightinesses shall have power to put and keep garrisons in the following places, viz., Newport, Knocke, Menin, the citadel of Lisle, Tournay, Conde, Valenciennes, Namur and its citadel, Lier, Halle, to fortify the fort of Perle, Damme, and the castle of Gand.

REMARKS.

In the barrier treaty, the States added the following places to those mentioned in this article, viz., Furnes, Ypres, towns of Lisle, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Philippe, fort of St. Donas, (which is to be in property to the States,) and the fort of Rhodenhuysen to be demolished. To say nothing of the other places, Dendermond is the key of all Brabant; and the demolishing of the fort of Rhodenhuysen, situate between Gand and Sas Van Gand, can only serve to defraud the King of Spain of the duties upon goods imported and exported there.

ARTICLE VII.

The said States may put into the said towns, forts, and places, and in case of open war with France, into all the other towns, places, and forts, whatever troops the reason of war shall require.

REMARKS.

But, in the barrier treaty, it is said: in case of an apparent attack or war, without specifying against France: neither is the number of troops limited to what the reason of war shall require, but what the States shall think necessary.

ARTICLE IX.

Beside some smaller differences, ends with a salvo, not only for the ecclesiastical and civil rights of the King of Spain, but likewise for his revenues in the said towns, which revenues, in the barrier treaty, are all given to the States.

ARTICLE XI.

The revenues of the chattellanies and dependencies of the towns and places, which the States shall have for their barrier against France, and which were not in the possession of the crown of Spain at the late King of Spain's death, shall be settled to be a fund for maintaining garrisons, and providing for the fortifications and magazines, and other necessary charges, of the said towns of the barrier.

REMARKS.

I desire the reader to compare this with the eleventh article of the barrier treaty, where he will see how prodigiously it is enlarged.

ARTICLE XIV.

All this to be without prejudice to such other treaties and conventions as the Queen of Great Britain and their high mightinesses may think fit to make for the future with the said King Charles the Third, relating to the Spanish Netherlands, or to the said barrier.

ARTICLE XV.

And to the end that the said States may enjoy at present as much as it is possible, a barrier in the Spanish Netherlands, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the chief towns already taken, or that may be taken, before a peace be made.

REMARKS.

These two articles are not in the barrier treaty, but two others in their stead, to which I refer the reader. And indeed it was highly necessary for the Dutch to strike out the former of these articles, when so great a part of the treaty is so highly and manifestly prejudicial to Great Britain, as well as to the King of Spain, especially in the two articles inserted in the place of these, which I desire the reader will examine.

ARTICLE XX.

And whereas, by the fifth and ninth articles of the alliance between the emperor, the late King of Great Britain, and the States General, concluded the 7th of September 1701, it is agreed and stipulated, that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy, shall be recovered from the possession of France, as being of the last consequence to the trade of both nations, as well as the Spanish Netherlands, for a barrier for the States General; therefore the said Queen of Great Britain and the States General agree, and oblige themselves, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France before the restitution of the said kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy, as well as the Spanish Low Countries, with the other towns and places in the possession of France above-mentioned in this treaty, and also after the manner specified in this treaty, as likewise all the rest of the entire monarchy of Spain, be yielded by France as a preliminary.

ARTICLE XXII.

And whereas experience has shown of what importance it is to Great Britain and the United Provinces, that the fortress and port of Dunkirk should not be in the possession of France in the condition they are at present, the subjects of both nations having undergone such great losses, and suffered so much in their trade by the prizes taken from them by privateers sent out from that port; insomuch that France, by her unmeasurable ambition, may be always tempted to make some enterprises upon the territories of the Queen of Great Britain and their high mightinesses, and interrupt the public repose and tranquillity; for the preservation of which, and the balance of Europe against the exorbitant power of France, the allies engaged themselves in this long and burdensome war; therefore the said Queen of Great Britain and their mightinesses agree, and oblige themselves, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before it shall be yielded and stipulated by France, as a preliminary, that all the fortifications of the said town of Dunkirk, and the forts that depend upon it, be entirely demolished and rased, and that the port be entirely ruined and rendered impracticable.

REMARKS.

These two articles are likewise omitted in the barrier treaty; whereof the first regards particularly the interests of the house of Austria, and the other about demolishing those of Great Britain. It is something strange, that the late ministry, whose advocates raise such a clamour about the necessity of recovering Spain from the house of Bourbon,

should suffer the Dutch to strike out this article, which I think clearly shows the reason why the States never troubled themselves with the thoughts of reducing Spain, or even recovering Milan, Naples, and Sicily, to the emperor, but were wholly fixed upon the conquest of Flanders, because they had determined those provinces as a property for themselves.

As for the article about demolishing Dunkirk, I am not at all surprised to find it struck out; the destruction of that place, although it would be useful to the States, does more nearly import Britain, and was therefore a point that such ministers could more easily get over.

The Sentiments of Prince EUGENE of Savoy, and of the Count de ZINZENDORF, relating to the Barrier of the States General, to the Upper Quarter of Guelder, and to the Towns of the Electorate of Cologn, and of the Bishopric of Liege.

ALTHOUGH the orders and instructions of the courts of Vienna and Barcelona, upon the matters above-mentioned, do not go so far as to give directions for what follows; notwithstanding, the prince and count above mentioned, considering the present state of affairs, are of the following opinion:

First, That the counter-project of England, relating to the places where the States General may put and keep garrisons, ought to be followed, except Lier, Halle, to fortify, and the Castle of Gand. Provided, likewise, that the sentiments of England be particularly conformed to, relating to Dendermond and Ostend, as places in no wise belonging to the barrier, and which, as well as the Castle of

Gand, can only serve to make the States General masters of the Low Countries, and hinder trade with England. And as Lier and Halle, those who are acquainted with the country know that these towns cannot give any security to the States General, but can only make people believe, that these places being fortified, would rather serve to block up Brussels and the other great cities of Brabant.

Secondly, As to what is said in the seventh article of the counter-project of England, relating to the augmentation of garrisons in the towns of the barrier, in case of an open war; this is agreeable to the opinions of the said prince and count, who think likewise, that there ought to be added to the eighth article, that no goods or merchandise should be sent into the towns where the States General shall have garrisons, nor be comprehended under the names of such things as the said garrisons and fortifications shall have need of. And to this end, the said things shall be inspected in those places where they are to pass; as likewise, the quantity shall be settled that the garrisons may want.

Thirdly, As to the ninth article, relating to the governors and commanders of those towns, forts, and places where the States General shall have their garrisons, the said prince and count are of opinion, that the said governors and commanders ought to take an oath as well to the King of Spain as to the States General; but they may take a particular oath to the latter, that they will not admit foreign troops without their consent; and that they will depend exclusively upon the said States, in whatever regards the military power. But, at the same time, they ought exclusively to promise the King of Spain, that they will not intermeddle in the affairs of law, civil power, revenues, or any other matters, ecclesiastical or civil, unless at the desire of the king's officers to

assist them in the execution; in which case, the said commanders should be obliged not to refuse them.

Fourthly, As to the tenth article, there is nothing to be added, unless that the States General may repair and increase the fortifications of the towns, places, and forts, where they shall have their garrisons; but this at their own expence. Otherwise, under that pretext, they might seize all the revenues of the country.

Fifthly, As to the eleventh article, they think the States ought not to have the revenues of the chattellanies and dependencies of these towns and places, which are to be their barrier against France, this being a sort of sovereignty, and very prejudicial to the ecclesiastical and civil economy of the country. But the said prince and count are of opinion, that the States General ought to have, for the maintenance of their garrisons and fortifications, a sum of money, of a million and a half, or two millions of florins, which they ought to receive from the king's officers, who shall be ordered to pay that sum before any other payment.

Sixthly, And the convention which shall be made on this affair, between his Catholic majesty and the States General, shall be for a limited time.

These are the utmost conditions to which the said prince and count think it possible for his Catholic majesty to be brought; and they declare, at the same time, that their imperial and Catholic majesties will sooner abandon the Low Countries, than to take them upon other conditions, which would be equally expensive, shameful, and unacceptable to them.

On the other side, the said prince and count are persuaded, that the advantages at this time yielded to the States General, may hereafter be very prejudicial to themselves; forasmuch as they may put

the people of the Spanish Netherlands to some dangerous extremity, considering the antipathy between the two nations; and that extending of frontiers is entirely contrary to the maxims of their government.

As to the upper quarter of Guelder, the said prince and count are of opinion, that the States General may be allowed the power of putting in garrisons into Venlo, Ruremond, and Steffenswaert, with orders to furnish the said States with the revenues of the country, which amount to one hundred thousand florins.

As to Bonne, belonging to the Electorate of Cologn, Liege, and Huy, to the Bishopric of Liege, it is to be understood, that these being imperial towns, it does not depend upon the emperor to consent that foreign garrisons should be placed in them upon any pretence whatsoever. But, whereas the States General demand them only for their security, it is proposed to place in those towns a garrison of imperial troops, of whom the States may be in no suspicion, as they might be of a garrison of an elector, who might possibly have views opposite to their interests. But this is proposed only in case that it shall not be thought more proper to rase one or other of the said towns.

The Representation of the English Merchants at Bruges, relating to the Barrier Treaty.

DAVID WHITE, and other Merchants, her Majesty's Subjects residing at Bruges, and other Towns in Flanders, crave leave humbly to represent:

THAT whereas the cities of Lisle, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and other new conquests in

Flanders, and Artois, taken from the French this war by the united forces of her majesty and her allies, are now become entirely under the government of the States General, and that we, her majesty's subjects, may be made liable to such duties and impositions on trade as the said States General shall think fit to impose on us: we humbly hope and conceive, that it is her majesty's intention and design, that the trade of her dominions and subjects, which is carried on with these new conquests, may be on an equal foot with that of the subjects and dominions of the States General, and not be liable to any new duty, when transported from the Spanish Netherlands to the said new conquests, as, to our great surprise, is exacted from us on the following goods, viz., butter, tallow, salmon, hides, beef, and all other products of her majesty's dominions, which we import at Ostend, and there pay the duty of entry to the King of Spain, and consequently ought not to be liable to any new duty, when they carry the same goods, and all others, from their dominions by a free pass, or transire, to the said new conquests: and we are under apprehension, that if the said new conquests be settled, or given entirely into the possession of the States General for their barrier, (as we are made to believe, by a treaty lately made by her majesty's ambassador, the Lord Viscount Townshend, at the Hague,) that the States General may also soon declare all goods and merchandises, which are contraband in their provinces, to be also contraband, or prohibited, in these new conquests, or new barrier; by which her majesty's subjects will be deprived of the sale and consumption of the following products of her majesty's dominions, which are, and have long been, declared contraband in the United Provinces, such as English and Scots salt,

malt spirits, or corn brandy, and all other sorts of distilled English spirits, whale * and rape oil, &c.

It is therefore humbly conceived, that her majesty, out of her great care and gracious concern for the benefit of her subjects and dominions, may be pleased to direct, by a treaty of commerce, or some other way, that their trade may be put on an equal foot in all the Spanish Netherlands and the new conquests of barrier with the subjects of Holland, by paying no other duty than that of importation to the King of Spain; and by a provision, that no product of her majesty's dominions shall ever be declared contraband in these new conquests, except such goods as were esteemed contraband before the death of Charles II., King of Spain. And it is also humbly prayed, that the product and manufacture of the new conquests may be also exported without paying any new duty, beside that of exportation to Ostend, which was always paid to the King of Spain; it being impossible for any nation in Europe to assort an entire cargo for the Spanish West Indies without a considerable quantity of several of the manufactures of Lisle; such as caradoros, cajant, picoses, boratten, and many other goods.

The chief things to be demanded of France, are to be exempted from tonnage, to have a liberty of importing herrings and all other fish to France, on the same terms as the Dutch do, and as was agreed by them at the treaty of commerce immediately after the treaty of peace at Ryswick. The enlarging her majesty's plantations in America, &c., is naturally recommended.

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* When Mr. White calls whale oil a product of her majesty's dominions, he must have been of opinion that they extended to the North Pole.

AN

APPENDIX

TO THE

CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES;*

AND

REMARKS ON THE BARRIER TREATY.

Nihil est aliud in fœdere, nisi ut pia et æterna pax sit.
CICERO, *pro C. Balbo.*

Jan. 16, 1712–13.

I BEGIN to think, that though perhaps there may be several very exact maps of Great Britain to be had at the shops in Amsterdam or the Hague; and some shining genii in that country can, it may be, look out the most remarkable places in our island, especially those upon the sea-coast or near it, as Portsmouth, Chatham, Torbay, and the

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* "I gave the *Examiner* a hint about this prorogation; and to praise the queen for her tenderness to the *Dutch*, in giving them still more time to submit. It suited the occasion at present."—*Journal to Stella*, Jan. 15, 1712–13.

like; yet it is highly necessary, that "Chamberlaine's Present State," or some other good book of that sort, were carefully translated into Dutch, *in usum illustrissimorum ordinum*, or with any other sounding and pompous title, only signifying, that it was done for the use of our good allies, and to set them right in the nature of our government, constitution, and laws; with which they do not appear to be so well acquainted as might be expected. I am sensible that as things now stand, if a manifesto or memorial should be sent them, humbly representing to their high mightinesses, That Great Britain is an independent monarchy, governed by its own laws; that the queen is supreme over all orders of the realm; that no other prince, prelate, state, or potentate, has, or ought to have, any authority and jurisdiction over us; that where the queen, lords, and commons, solemnly consent, it is a law; and where the collective body of the people agree, it is the sense of the nation; that the making war and peace is the prerogative of the crown; and that all alliances are to be observed only so far as they answer the ends for which they were made: in such a case, it is not unlikely but the Amsterdam Gazette, or some other paper in the Seven Provinces, would immediately answer all this, by publicly protesting, that it came from the Jacobites and Frenchified highfliers, and therefore ought not to be admitted as genuine: for, of late, that celebrated writer, and two or three of his seconds, have undertaken to tell us poor Britons, who are our best subjects, and how we ought to behave ourselves toward our allies. So that, in this unhappy juncture, I do not see when we shall come to a right understanding. On the other hand, suppose we agreed to give them the precedence, and left the first proposal for

overtures of accommodation to their management; this perhaps might quickly bring us to be better acquainted. Let them therefore lay aside all clumsy pretences to address; tell us no more of former battles, sieges, and glories; nor make love to us in prose, and extol our beauty, our fortune, and their own passion for us, to the stars: but let them come roundly to the business, and in plain terms give us to understand, that they will not recognize any other government in Great Britain, but Whiggarchy only: that they treated with us as such, and are not obliged to acknowledge a usurped power, called a monarchy, to which they are utter strangers: that they have a just demand upon us ever since the Revolution; which is a precedent for their interposing, whenever popery and arbitrary power are coming in upon us, which at present they are informed by their friends is our case: and besides, they are advised by able counsel, that we are only tenants for life; and they, being mentioned in the entail, are obliged to have a watchful eye over us, and to see that neither waste nor dilapidation be done upon the premises. If all this be not the case, and a true state of the controversy, as I heartily hope it is not, I leave any rational creature, pick him where you will between the Danube and Ganges, to judge of the following remonstrance.

A war is undertaken by several potentates in conjunction, upon certain causes and conditions, plainly expressed in a writing called "the Grand Alliance." This war is carried on with success; the enemy offers to treat, and proposes to satisfy all the just demands of the several parties engaged against them. Great Britain makes her claim, so does Portugal; and both are fully satisfied. The Dutch produce their barrier of Gertruydenberg;

and are assured they shall have it, except two or three places at most. Savoy and Prussia have more than ever they asked. Only the emperor will have all Spain, contrary to the reasons upon which his brother's renunciation was founded, and in direct violation of a fundamental maxim, "The balance of power:" so that he would involve us in a second war, and a new "Grand Alliance," under pretence of observing the old one. This, in short, is the case; and yet, after all the blood-shed, expence, and labour, to compass these great ends, though her Britannic majesty finds by experience that every potentate in the Grand Alliance, except herself, has actually broke it every year; though she stands possessed of an undoubted right to make peace and war; though she has procured for her allies all that she was obliged to by treaty; though her two houses of parliament humbly entreat her to finish the great work; though her people with one voice admire and congratulate the wise steps she has taken, and cry aloud to her to defer their happiness no longer; though some of the allies, and one or two of the provinces, have declared for peace, and her majesty's domestic enemies dread it as the utter downfal of their faction; yet still the blessing depends, and expectation is our lot. The menacing pensionary has scruples: he desires time to look out for something to demand: there are a dozen or two of petty princes, who want silk stockings, and lace round their hats: we must stay till the second part of Denain comes upon the stage, and squire South * promises to go directly to Madrid, the next time we show him the way thither.

Her majesty is all goodness and tenderness to her

* The emperor.—See the History of John Bull.

people and her allies. A brighter example of piety could not adorn the life of her royal grandfather, whose solemn anniversary we must shortly celebrate. She has now prorogued the best parliament that ever assembled in her reign; and respited her own glory, and the wishes, prayers, and wants of her people, only to give some of her allies an opportunity to think of the returns they owe her, and try if there be such things as gratitude, justice, or humanity, in Europe. This conduct of her majesty is without parallel. Never was so great a condescension made to the unreasonable clamours of an insolent faction, now dwindled to the most contemptible circumstances. It is certainly high time they should begin to meditate other measures, unless they vainly imagine the government must part with both its attributes of mercy and justice, till they are pleased to be dutiful and obedient. What ill-grounded hopes and expectations they have underhand administered to any of the allies, is not worth my while to inquire; since, whatever they are, they must come attended with the blackest treason and ingratitude. The Dutch have the least reason in the world to rely on such a broken reed; and after having solemnly promised to conform themselves to her majesty's wisdom, and depend on her conduct, which is the language of their latest professions, such clandestine management would fully deserve all those appellations, with which the writings of the Whigs are so richly embellished.

After all, when her majesty and her subjects have waited one period more, and affixed a new date to their wishes and their patience; since peace is the only end of every alliance, and since all that we fought for is yielded up by the enemy, in justice to her prerogative, to her parliament, and her people, the desirable blessing will, no doubt, be reached out

to us; our happiness will not be put off till they who have ill-will at us can find time and power to prevent it. All that a stubborn ally can then expect is, time to come in and accept those terms which himself once thought reasonable. The present age will soon taste the sweets of such conduct; and posterity as highly applaud it. Only they who now rail and calumniate will do so still, and who are disposed to give everything the same treatment which makes for our safety and welfare, and spoils their game of disorder and confusion.

It is true, the present stagnation of affairs is accounted for another way; and the party give out, that France begins to draw back, and would explain several articles upon us: but the authors of this forgery know very well I do not miscal it; and are conscious to the criminal reasons why it is with so much industry bandied about. France rather enlarges her offers, than abates or recedes from them: so happy are we in finding our most inveterate and ungenerous enemies within our own bowels! The Whigs, according to custom, may chuckle and solace themselves with the visionary hopes of coming mischief; and imagine they are grown formidable, because they are to be humoured in their extravagances, and to be paid for their perverseness. Let them go on to glory in their projected schemes of government, and the blessed effects they have produced in the world. It was not enough for them to make obedience the duty of the sovereign, but this obedience must at length be made passive; and that non-resistance may not wholly vanish from among the virtues, since the subject is weary of it, they would fairly make it over to their monarch. The compact between prince and people is supposed to be mutual; but grand alliances are, it seems, of another nature: a failure in one party does not dis-